

IN THESE TIMES



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75 CENTS

Trials of Love

The author of *Women Who Kill*
explains our national obsession
with the Jean Harris case.

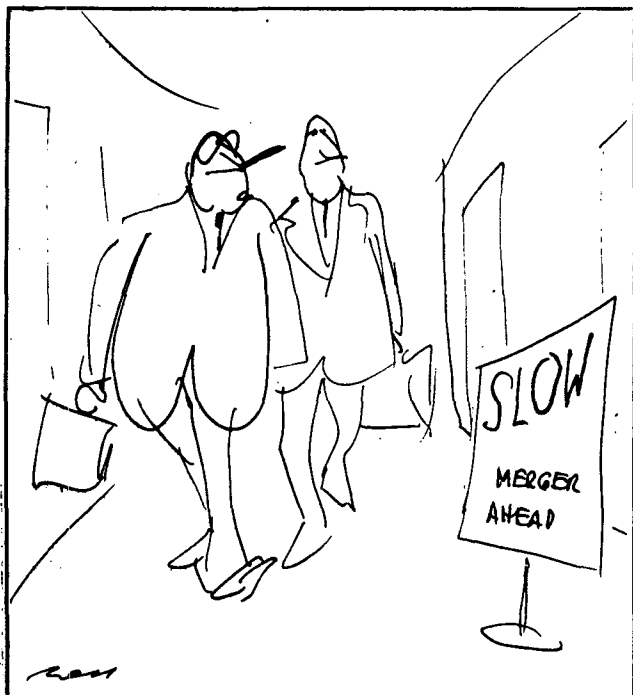


Illustration: Tom Greensfelder

John Judis
on the Conservatives
in Power

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THE INSIDE STORY



Beware the long arm of oil money

By David Moberg

The sudden bids by three oil-rich corporations to take over three of the nation's biggest metal ore mining companies in less than a week were, simply on the face of it, startling moves, setting new records in the conglomerate empire-building game. Standard of California offered \$4 billion for the remaining 80 percent that it didn't already own of Amax, the major strategic metal and coal producer. Sohio bid \$1.77 billion for Kennecott, the leading domestic copper producer. Seagram bid \$2.05 billion with cash from sale of an oil subsidiary for St. Joe Minerals. These prospective mergers represent something far more serious than the obvious and awesome increase in concentration of corporate power.

With OPEC sustaining the world oil price and the American companies raking in even more cash now that oil prices have been decontrolled, the oil corporations are making at least 40 percent of all corporate manufacturing profits. They are so bloated with money that they don't know what to do with it. After many decades during which oil companies were less prone to merger than most corporations, they have now spread their control over most potentially competing forms of energy.

The major oil companies own half of American coal reserves, 40 percent of uranium reserves and 45 percent of natural gas reserves, roughly three-fourths of the major solar firms, and, not counting the recent bids, 63 percent of domestic copper production (an essential element in solar technology). Although they have concentrated their acquisitions in energy fields the opportunities for such takeovers are diminishing, forcing the oil companies into new areas.

There are some classic antitrust questions that can be raised about these mergers, but even more important is the question of brute corporate power—its political impact, its distortion of capital allocation, its further mocking of the notion of a "free market" as a useful characterization of the U.S. economy, and its sabotage of American industry and employment. The *Wall Street Journal* editorially hailed the takeovers as signs that the Reagan economic plan was working. Maybe, but not in the way he promised voters.

One threat is that through their diverse holdings, the oil companies—"Petrosaurus" as *The Economist* dubbed them—will be able to extend their anti-competitive oil-pricing strategy to all forms of energy and then do the same thing with strategic metals, such as copper, molybdenum and nickel. As John Blair demonstrated in *The Control of Oil*, the majors over many decades

adjusted supply to prevent gluts and keep a floor under the price of oil. OPEC continues that policy with even greater vigor.

Karl Frieden of the National Center for Economic Alternatives warns that the energy companies now "can try to control output of coal the way they did with foreign oil, taking it in or out of the market." Indeed, Frieden has discovered that during the period 1970 to 1979 production at three of the four largest coal operating companies bought by oil companies in the late 1960s (together representing one-sixth of coal production in 1970) fell by 24 percent. During the same time, coal production at other companies went up 39 percent. Coal in the ground was better than money in the bank. The fear is that the oil companies may be able to control the development of various energy options to maximize their size, power and profit.

The same is possible with minerals and metals. *The Economist* worries that the oil companies will concentrate mining in higher-cost areas that are politically safe rather than lower-cost sources in developing countries (parallel to a charge made about oil company reluctance to drill in many potential third world areas). A conflict develops with the interest of other capitalists. Economist David Kolz, author of *Bank Control of Large Corporations*, speculates that the money-swollen oil companies and the large banks that usually play a strategic planning role in U.S. capitalism may also clash over investment strategies despite the holdings many banks have in oil.

Is bigger better?

In defending its acquisitions against critics, antitrust lawyer and former Federal Trade Commission staff member Henry Banta notes that the oil industry has typically made three arguments: it can provide better management, better technology and better financial resources.

"The first argument is conspicuous bullshit," Banta says. Oil companies actually "seek well-managed firms and want to take over that management," he argues. Stock analyst Todd Bergman told the *New York Times* that he was "skeptical about the acquisitions the oil companies are making—in general their track record is pretty poor." The chairman of one mining company, ASARCO, told *Business Week* that the oil companies specifically have a poor record in managing mining companies, despite their claims—severely discounted by *The Economist*—that mining and oil are similar operations. Marcor—Montgomery Ward—has floundered since Mobil took it over.

The second argument is also weak. For example, Banta argues that the main technological advantage the oil companies bring to coal has less to do with getting it out of the ground than in figuring out how to make synfuels. So why shouldn't they just buy the coal for their synfuel plants from coal companies? The evidence from Arco's takeover of Anaconda Copper is even more telling. Last fall Arco shut down the 1,000-worker smelter at Anaconda, Montana, the economic mainstay of the region, rather than modernize it. Now the copper ore is shipped to smelters in Japan. Arco blames the cost of environmental protection. A new government study rejects that explanation, but in any case, protecting the environment might be a worthy use of oil windfall profits. Besides, the main pollutant problem in the smelter is sulfur dioxide. Japanese smelters recapture those fumes to make, profitably, sulfuric acid as a by-product. There are two more plausible explanations for the shutdown: Arco didn't

want to spend the money to modernize the plant to compete with the Japanese and could also take a huge tax write-off against their oil profits.

So much for the technological and financial advantages of oil company takeovers. In another case, Exxon defended its purchase of Reliance Electric for \$1.17 billion as acquisition of another company's expertise to develop an Exxon invention for energy-saving control of motors. Now the project has been abandoned, but Exxon still owns Reliance. Why couldn't Exxon have simply plunged into the competition as a new entrant in the market? The control invention seems more like a convenient excuse for conglomerate in retrospect.

In any case, as Banta notes, the weakness in big oil's third justification for takeovers—better financial resources—is that "it's inconsistent with their argument for deregulation and decontrol—that they need this money for oil and gas production. Both can't be true."

Yet the companies and the Reagan administration are pressing for immediate natural gas decontrol, which would swell producers' coffers by an additional \$330 billion over the next five years.

A distorted, dying market.

Such mergers "distort allocation of capital, distort income distribution and waste resources," Northwestern University economist Robert Eisner says. The Reagan plan for accelerated depreciation will worsen the process, he warns. The "10-5-3" plan that allows companies to write off investments faster will not only grant benefits disproportionately to capital-intensive industries, but will also concentrate benefits in high-profit capital-intensive industries—like the oil companies. But many other companies will begin to show "tax losses" as they speed up their write-offs. "That will encourage other firms with high profits to acquire them," Eisner says. So we can expect to see an oil-based merger boom even though that would otherwise not be expected in such a sluggish economic period, Kotz suggests.

Reaganites talk about unleashing the free market, but "if you really believe in the market, this [recent rash of mergers] must be a distortion," Rutgers economist Paul Davidson argues. "Managers don't represent the entire market. The market allocation would have been different from the corporate decision." Now 15 to 20 firms make the investment decisions. "If they can do that well," he adds, "then you could argue that Washington bureaucrats could do just as well."

"Washington bureaucrats" of the right stripe might do much better. Duane Chapman, resource economist at Cornell, argues, "The picture is clear: what's needed is development of insulation and conservation in space heating, development of mass transportation in cities and between cities, and development of renewable resources according to the potential of each region." Money spent on those projects will "produce" more energy than synfuels and other oil company projects, and at lower prices and without problems of foreign supplies. Synfuels would also cost billions of dollars. "There's only one place where this kind of money can come from," Chapman notes.

But that money—in the clutches of the oil companies—is going instead to build up a corporate empire that threatens the U.S., other capitalists, and banks, just at a time, conveniently, when the Reagan administration has served notice that it does not intend to pursue antitrust enforcement. It's beyond old John D. Rockefeller's wildest dreams.

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The conservatives close ranks

By John Judds

WASHINGTON

SINCE 1974 THE AMERICAN CONSERVATIVE Union (ACU), the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), *National Review*, and *Human Events* have been staging an annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) at which different strains of the American right, from "establishment conservatives" of the "old right" to the direct-mail activists of the "new right," have vigorously debated politics and programs. But this year's event, at Washington's Mayflower Hotel March 19-22, was significantly different.

ACU chairman Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-Ok.) explained this in his opening speech. "We're like the dog who kept chasing the car," Edwards said. "Now we've caught up to it, and we better know what to do with it."

Past CPACs had been devoted to outsiders plotting against the Democratic majority. This one was devoted mostly to discussions between the Ronald Reagan administration and its activist base. Administration members with long conservative associations, like Reagan and National Security Advisor Richard Allen, gave major addresses. (Reagan has keynoted five of the seven CPACs.) But other administration members, long suspected of being "moderates," like Vice-President George Bush, OMB director David Stockman, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Samuel Pierce, UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, were also conspicuously in attendance.

It was not surprising to hear Reagan cite in his address such right-wing stalwarts as Friedrich Von Hayek, Henry Hazlitt, James Burnham, Ludwig Von Mises and Whittaker Chambers. It was surprising to hear George Bush lead off with a quotation from neo-feudal aristocrat Russell Kirk.

The conference exhibited remarkable unity among the Reagan people and the old and new right. The point was brought home when new rightist Terry Dolan's National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) gave a reception for former John Anderson aide David Stockman, whom it had targeted for defeat in the 1976 Michigan Congressional election. "We make mistakes sometimes," Dolan said in introducing Stockman.

The ACU and YAF were both outgrowths of the movement among conservative Republicans that resulted in Barry Goldwater's 1964 nomination. Both represent an "old right" emphasis, as chair Edwards put it, on "economics, foreign policy and bureaucracy." The agenda

Reagan's first policy moves reassured New Right critics who feared a rerun of the Nixon era.

reflected these priorities, with Friday and Saturday given over to economic and foreign policy and with gun control, school prayer and abortion relegated to poorly attended Thursday afternoon and Sunday morning panels.

Reagan himself came out of the ACU/YAF right. As California governor, he had initially backed the equal rights amendment and abortion rights. His "social conservatism" dates from the mid-'70s when new right activists like Richard Viguerie, Dolan and Conserva-



Rep. Mickey Edwards (R-Ok.), who heads the American Conservative Union, emphasized the difference between a party of opposition and a party in power.

tive Caucus head Howard Phillips put social issues on the right-wing agenda.

These new rightists were not acting from conviction as much as politics. As Viguerie said at the conference, he had come from a "traditional conservative viewpoint," but had discovered that "the people weren't as concerned about these issues as we were." Viguerie, Dolan and the others turned to busing and abortion, which they opposed anyway, as a means of winning voters—particularly socially conservative Democrats—to an overall conservative viewpoint.

But the new rightists disagreed on one strategic point with the old right. While they were traditional conservatives, they were not traditional Republicans. Viguerie had been drawn to George Wallace in the '60s. Phillips had run for the Senate in Massachusetts as a Democrat. And Dolan targeted Republicans as well as Democrats for defeat. Viguerie and *National Review* publisher William Rusher held out for a conservative third party. Dolan and Phillips spoke of a "conservative movement" that transcended party.

In the 1980 election, these new right leaders initially opposed Reagan in the Republican primary, and when Reagan got the nomination they aired their misgivings about his latent liberalism. (*In These Times*, July 30.) After the elec-

tion, they complained about Reagan's appointments (typified for them in the appointment of Carter administration member Frank Carlucci as deputy defense secretary). (*In These Times*, Feb. 11.)

Old right conservatives were critical of Viguerie and the others for attacking Reagan before he had taken office. But many of them privately shared the new right's misgivings about the early Reagan appointments. They feared that the Reagan administration, with Bush in the wings, might turn out to be a repeat—ideologically speaking—of the first Nixon administration.

But Reagan's first foreign and economic policy moves won them over. At the conference, Viguerie, Phillips and Dolan remained critical of some aspects of the Reagan program. Dolan circulated a proposal for \$172 billion in budget cuts (compared to Reagan's \$48 billion) that included the elimination of the Food and Drug Administration, the Center for Disease Control, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the National Institute for Health, ACTION and the Federal Trade Commission. Phillips grumbled about the administration's continued compliance with SALT I and II. And they collectively bemoaned the absence, as Viguerie put it, of "clearly identified Christian conservatives" in the administration.

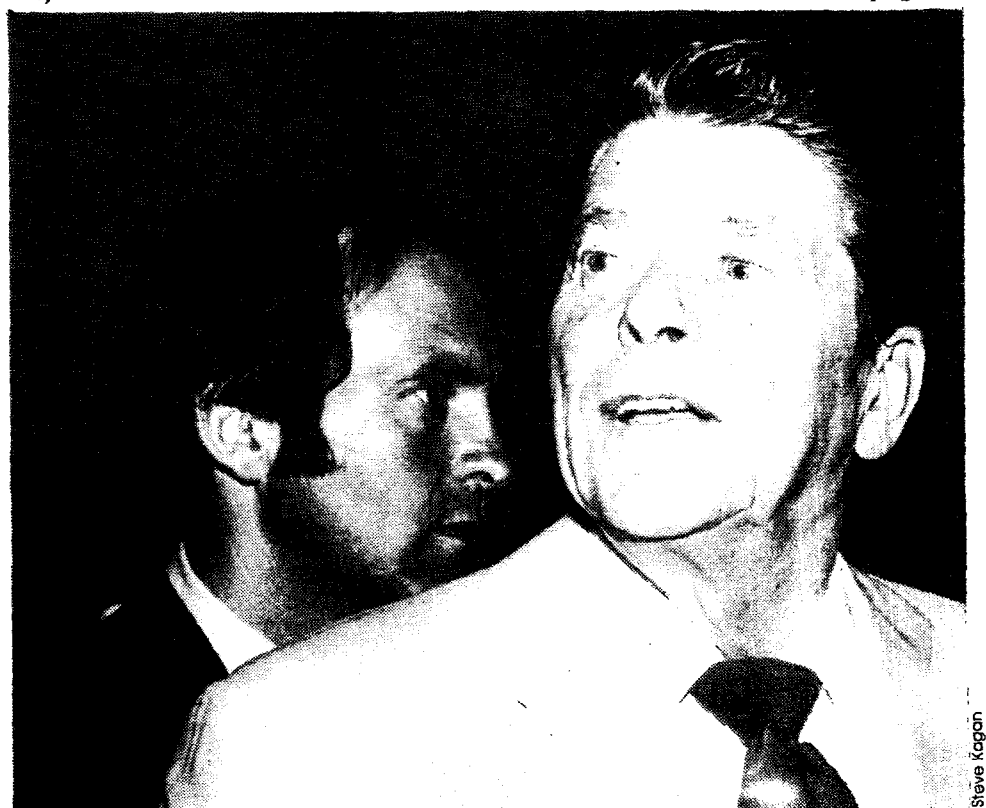
But their tone was entirely different from January. Viguerie joined Stanton Evans in giving Reagan an "A-plus" for everything he has done. Rusher described Reagan as an "absolute laser beam" on conservative issues. "Unless we are chronic complainers," Rusher said, "it's got to look good to us. We will never again have a president who is as identifiably a movement conservative as this one."

Even members of the Christian right, who had bristled over Reagan's decision to put off social legislation until he had won his economic and defense battles, now understand, even if they don't agree. "He's got to do those issues first," one Christian activist said. "It's our job to force Congress to take up issues like school prayer and abortion. We know the man in the White House will sign the bills."

But most significant were signs at the conference of agreement about political strategy. This was indicated during an exchange from the audience between Dolan and new right pollster Arthur Finkelstein, who were on a panel discussing "Looking towards 1982," and a Baltimore conservative who had remained a Democrat because he didn't see why he should "leave the party apparatus to the liberals." The Baltimore conservative argued that the right should pay more attention to races for local and state offices rather than to congressional and presidential contests.

Dolan and Finkelstein argued that it was only possible to raise issues in cam-

Continued on page 20



Steve Kagan

IN SHORT

(Can't get no) Regulation

In a new variant of the old "what they don't know won't hurt them" theory, reports Dave Lindorff, the California Public Utilities Commission has decided not to require telephone, power and other utility companies under its jurisdiction to state on their advertisements whether the ads were paid for by ratepayers or by stockholders.

The commission's logic for this decision was tortuous. On the one hand it explained that "the number of complaints and inquiries concerning utility advertising is not significant when measured against the total number of complaints received by the commission." On the other hand, it also argued that requiring the companies to label their ads would raise "the probability of an increase in the number of complaints and inquiries," and so "increase the administrative burden of the commission."

The anti-consumer decision was reached after several years of sporadic hearings into the matter of utility advertising at ratepayer expense. Those hearings, which began in 1976, have now been discontinued by the commission—further evidence that what was once one of the more aggressive public utility regulators in the country is sliding into submissiveness.

Shed no more tears

Does inflation mean that reported corporate profits are really less than they seem? Oh yes, say many corporations and conservative economists. They argue that present depreciation allowances—tax deductions that take into account the deterioration of equipment—are insufficient, because inflation makes worn-out equipment so much more expensive to replace.

But while Reagan rushes to the rescue with his proposed acceleration of depreciation schedules for business, a Stanford economics professor named John Shoven has pointed out that businesses are also repaying their debts in dollars of reduced value—thus adding to their true profits. Shoven says that corporate profits reported to the government since 1973 have been understated by \$160 billion.

Gets 18 rem's to the mile

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission may have figured out what to do with thousands of tons of contaminated metal from federal nuclear-fuel reprocessing plants—sell it. The proposal now being considered by the NRC, according to the *Zodiac News Service*, is to melt down the slightly radioactive metal so it can be converted into consumer goods such as cars, kitchen utensils and jewelry.

The *Wall Street Journal* notes that a steel surgical pin made from this metal—one possible use—would subject an adjacent bone to 440 millirems of radiation per year, which is four times greater than the usual annual dose from background sources. But the NRC insists that the recycled metal would not be radioactive enough to pose a health hazard to the public.

Reagan: it's wrong to know

Reagan is wasting no time in fulfilling his pledge to curb OSHA. The first casualty, according to the Chicago Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health, was a proposal that OSHA issued on Jan. 16 for "right-to-know" regulations in the labeling of workplace chemicals. It took just one well-placed letter from the Chemical Manufacturers Association to wipe out years of work by unions and other advocates of workplace health and safety. Now employers won't be required to label all chemicals used in production or to make such information available to their employees.

They care

A new group called the Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics (ICARE) has begun to hold "people's hearings" with Chicago politicians, including representatives Harold Washington and Gus Savage. ICARE hopes to arrange similar meetings with Illinois' senators in April.

"I'm glad to see that Ronald Reagan has brought us together," announced one of the 200 activists from 100 groups—which, in turn, represent 100,000 members—at ICARE's founding meeting in mid-March. Those in attendance heard estimates of what Illinois stands to lose under Reagan, such as \$90 million for food stamps; \$51 million for Medicaid; and, in Chicago alone, \$105 million for public schools, housing, neighborhood rehabilitation and economic development.

ICARE's temporary address is 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605. Phone: (312) 427-6262.

—Josh Kornbluth



"If taxation without representation was enough to lead the people of this country to revolt, then oppression, starvation and genocide are enough to lead us [Salvadorans] into revolution," said Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador, as he addressed more than 5,000 in Boston Common late last month. The march and rally to end U.S. involvement in El Salvador was said to be the largest anti-war demonstration in Boston since the late '60s. "We are governed by a regime," Ramos added, "that makes old King George look like a saint."

Sullivan rejects his own "plan"

Rev. Leon Sullivan, author of a program used by many American multinationals to justify their investments in South Africa, last month challenged the underlying principle of the so-called "Sullivan Plan."

Calling for an end to all corporate investment "except for basic maintenance and retooling," Rev. Sullivan, a black activist member of the board of directors of General Motors, said, "I'm not at all sure investment in South Africa in any form is good for blacks."

The shift in Sullivan's original position on corporate investment followed a recent trip he made to South Africa. Sullivan had earlier pressed U.S. multinationals to ignore apartheid rules within their South African plants, and to apply fair employment practices. As long as these conditions were met, he approved of the investment activity. But Sullivan now charges that while 140 companies have endorsed his principles, none of them have complied fully with the spirit of the program.

Sullivan said that many of the corporations that had agreed on paper with the Sullivan principles were actually using this to "camouflage" their continued complicity in South Africa's apartheid system. Moreover, he said that on his visit to South Africa he discovered that corporate investments in the South African economy were actually contributing to a "growing disparity" between blacks working in urban areas and those in the countryside and the "homelands."

This new position on corporate investment was disclosed by Sullivan at a press conference in New York City held by the National Council of Churches to announce Sullivan's endorsement of the Council's opposition to all bank loans to the South African government or any of its agencies.

At the grass-roots level, Sullivan and Dr. William Howard of the National Council of Churches said they were "mobilizing as never before." They announced plans for "at least 1,000 black pastors" to

begin making visits to local bank presidents, using the threat of a mass withdrawal of parishioners' deposits. They also reported plans to ask Jewish religious organizations to join them in the effort. Sullivan added that he had been promised support by Lane Kirkland of the AFL-CIO and Margaret Bush Wilson of the NAACP for a determined boycott of all banks doing business with South Africa.

Both Sullivan and Howard emphasized the need for any capital boycott to be coordinated internationally, and said they have been traveling to Europe to pressure businesses and churches there for support.

Recent statements from the Reagan administration calling for a rapprochement with the South African government lent an urgency to Sullivan's and Howard's new initiative, as did Citibank's recent decision to participate in a \$250 million loan to South Africa.

"The strategic interest of the U.S. is not in the minerals, it's in the people over there," said Sullivan. "Once again, we're on the losing side."

—Dave Lindorff and George Lowrey

Leftist wins seat in Tallahassee

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.—Kent Spriggs, a civil rights and labor attorney, recently won a seat on the five-member Tallahassee City Commission with 53 percent of the vote. Spriggs spent two years in Mississippi during the height of the civil rights struggle and went to Cuba in 1971 to cut sugar cane with the Venceremos Brigade. During the campaign—and particularly during the run-off—the incumbent mayor's newspaper, radio and TV advertising zeroed in on Spriggs' "Marxist-Leninist" connections.

How could a leftist win an election in a southern city that, according to local public opinion polls, has become 5 percent more conservative since 1975, and where only 30 percent of the voting public identifies itself as liberal or progressive?

Tallahassee—the state capital and home of two universities, a

community college, a growing labor movement and the highest standard of living in Florida—has traditionally been dominated by a small group of banking, developer and business interests that have the active support of traditional southern conservative Democrats.

Though the city is 20 percent black, the black turnout is usually low. But Spriggs' long involvement in the black community generated a large turn-out and overwhelming support from the three black precincts, despite an active campaign against him by the city's only elected black official.

The student vote was inconsequential, but '60s generation students provided the volunteers for Spriggs' grass-roots campaign.

Adequate police salaries and a city environmental plan to keep the publicly-owned utility rates down were the two major issues in Spriggs' campaign. Winning collective bargaining rights has been a long and difficult struggle for the police, who tend to be highly educated. There has been a marked reduction in police harassment since the '60s, and Spriggs believes that the best way to improve community race relations and prevent incidents like the Miami riots is to support the police in their bargaining demands.

Spriggs had the endorsement of the *Tallahassee Democrat*, and letters to the editor and comments by voters suggest the red-baiting campaign back-fired.

In the last five years, other left candidates have narrowly missed winning elective office. A teacher active in the labor movement, Barbara Devane, lost an election to the Florida house of representatives. In a crowded race, running on labor issues, she came in second. Harold Knowles, a black attorney, lost a city commission seat by 43 votes.

In a county with 75,000 voters, there are 4,000 AFL-CIO union members, including university professors and primary and secondary school teachers. These groups started the Central Labor Council in 1977. In the Spriggs election, for the first time, the council called and wrote to most union members in the city before the primary and run-off elections. This helped Spriggs' canvassers in working-class precincts.

—Jim Fendrich

IN THE NATION



Participants at the March 15 rally listen to Annie Rogers, mother of victim Patrick Rogers.

ATLANTA

Blacks grope for a unified response

By David Morse

“WHAT ASK OURSELVES, why did this happen in Atlanta?” The speaker standing behind a podium

decked with flowers and the names of the 20 black children killed or missing in as many months was Coretta King—an Atlantan, like her late husband the Rev. Martin Luther King.

“Could it have happened in any city? Why in this city, which has been a model in the South?”

She was asking the questions rhetorically—answering them within a religious perspective worthy of Job, with a question: “Could it be, that we in Atlanta have been chosen to be tested?”

She spoke slowly, emphasizing the symbolic nature of the gathering, which took place March 15, a Sunday afternoon. The predominantly black crowd numbered fewer than 2,000—about half students and the majority from outside the state; some from as far away as Boston and Detroit.

“We gather today because we care. We care about the children. We care about our families. We care about the quality of life—especially for those who are disadvantaged.”

“The brutality, sickness and insanity which has been heaped upon our community must be stopped.” At the same time, she warned the audience, “we must not fall victim to the monster of fear.”

“Hatred,” she observed, quoting her late husband, “is too great a burden to bear. Love alone sustains.”

But some among the audience were not about to be sustained by love. “Where are the ministers of Atlanta?” somebody had called at the onset of the gathering, which culminated a march from downtown Atlanta to the Martin Luther King Memorial Chapel at Morehouse College, one of six black campuses clustered in the Southwestern part of the city. The event had drawn such notables as former UN ambassador Andrew Young and actor Ben Vereen, but the turnout was smaller than many of the organizers had predicted. Local publicity had been poor.

“Where’s the Mayor?” somebody shouted, when Community Affairs Director Leon Hall—representing Atlanta’s black mayor, Maynard Jackson—declared, “The time for politics, the time for backstabbing and gameplaying has ended,” and assured his listeners that “the killer or killers of these children will be captured.” Jackson reportedly had planned to attend, but had been delayed at a church function.

The issue of race was played down by

almost all the speakers. The word “racism” was carefully avoided. The question of the killer’s race—which seems to haunt Atlantans—was dismissed by the mothers of the slain children as irrelevant.

Ignored.

But when Camille Bell recounted the story of police indifference—not only earlier, when her nine-year-old son Yusef was murdered, but later, when the number of dead or missing had risen to 10—she was clearly targeting a broad pattern of discrimination. At that time the mothers organized a march. “We put out a call for police, from the City of Atlanta and from DeKalb County and surrounding counties, and from the state. We got five policemen from Atlanta.”

As a result of the mothers’ efforts to

The sentiment was echoed by Annie Rogers, mother of 16-year-old Patrick Rogers. “I can’t say how I feel,” she began, “because I’m damned mad. The news media, they write what they want to write. Police, they say what they want to say. They have branded our kids hustlers. If it was white kids out trying to make a dime, nobody would call them hustlers.”

(In Atlanta, children used to be a common sight in grocery parking lots, asking to carry shoppers’ bags for a dime.)

She voiced further frustration at the refusal of the police until recently to add her son’s name to the special Task Force list because he was older than the other children and because they had found him in water.

Bernie McKaine, program director of radio station WOL, stepped forward to present a check for \$2,700 that had been collected in 14 hours—the first installment of a total of \$10,000 raised by the black Washington, D.C., station. McKaine’s station had also organized the three busloads of people who had come from the Capitol.

This check, he explained, was made out to the city, since it had been assigned prior to the announcement of new federal funds. The city, he observed dryly, could not “draw down” on the \$1.5 million sent by President Reagan until Monday afternoon; they could “draw down” on this check Monday morning.

Subsequent installments would go directly to the families, once it was agreed how the money was to be received.

Andrew Young was introduced next, but didn’t speak. After some minor confusion on the platform, the Rev. Joseph E. Lowery was introduced instead.

Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Convention (SCLC), unleashed the only really political broadsides of the day: “We’re tired of folks killing our children! We don’t know who is killing our children, but we know what is killing them—hatred and violence!” He went on to assail the Reagan administration’s obsession with Russian influence in El Salvador and its cutting social

from Detroit’s Kittering Senior High School in a Winnebago, branded the whole event a “farce.”

“Where were the people from Atlanta?” he demanded. “How in the hell did I find out about it a thousand miles away? I mean, this thing took place on a college campus. And why didn’t Andy Young speak?” He attributed the apparent lack of wholehearted support for the rally to local black officialdom responding to “dictates” from the national white establishment.

“My feeling is they’re trying to keep the lid on,” observed Osborne, a columnist for *The Militant* who had given strong advance coverage to the rally. “This place is going to explode.”

Asked why there hadn’t been more local publicity, the Rev. Leslie H. Carter of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change said the organizers had sent press releases not only to both the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Atlanta Journal* but to individual reporters on both papers—without success. Both papers are owned by the Cox Corporation, which also owns a major local television station.

The media, which allude frequently to disunity in the black community, have actually “produced fragmentation,” according to Carter.

It is difficult for outsiders to appreciate the pressure which is on Atlanta’s black leadership at this time—difficult even for Atlantans to appreciate the extent to which the black leadership feels itself, at some level, to be on trial.

The irony they must wrestle with is that in Atlanta blacks have political power: the mayor, the chief of police and half the city council are black. And yet the economic power belongs to the whites—to Coca-Cola, the Mead Corporation, Trust Company Bank, Georgia Pacific and the Cox Corporation, which loom large on the skyline.

But the day after the rally, an amendment was defeated in the Georgia legislature that would have required the state Department of Administrative Services



Bernie McKaine delivered the money raised by his Washington, D.C., radio station.

call attention to the pattern of murders and to organize pressure on the police, according to Bell, “we soon found ourselves out of favor with the—” she searched, or pretended to search, for an adjective, “—the better classes.”

“The issue,” she insisted, alluding to a tendency of the local press to focus attention on her difficulties in the housing project where she lived until recently, “is not whether Camille Bell got evicted. The issue is what’s happening to our children. We’ve got to watch out for what the media does. There’s a word for it. It’s called smokescreen.”

The mother of Christopher Richardson, 11 when he was killed, spoke next. “One thing I want to say right out: the kids were not—as the papers and police like to say—street kids and hustlers.”

programs in favor of armaments. “The Russians are not killing our children. Americans are killing our children!”

“We must serve notice,” he said. “We must say to Mr. Reagan: there’s a difference between equal and equitable. He’s saying his cuts are equal. But 5 percent for rich folks might mean they have to cut short their trip to Bermuda. Five percent for poor people can make the difference of survival.”

Disappointed.

Lowery received one of the strongest ovations. But after the rally had ended and people were rolling up banners and preparing to go home, one heard expressions of disappointment. Luther Campbell, a teacher-counselor who had brought a “cadre” of students down

to do 10 percent of its business with minorities. Angered by the defeat, State Rep. Hosea Williams (D-Atlanta) confronted his fellow legislators:

“We ask for some crumbs from your table when you owe us a loaf of bread. And you denied us those crumbs, and you still expect us to buck-dance and smile.”

And the day following, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran a column by Bill Shipp attacking Mayor Jackson and Rev. Lowery for their “incessant begging.” Lowery’s mention of racism, presumably at the rally, Shipp described as “Hitleresque.”

David Morse, who has covered Klan activities in New England for *In These Times*, will be spending several weeks in Atlanta.

LABOR

Miners may accept last-minute offer

By Paul Fortney Jr.

WASHINGTON

RANK-AND-FILE MEMBERS OF the United Mine Workers of America voted March 31 on ratification of a tentative agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association providing for wage and benefit increases of \$5.91 per hour over the next three years.

Because of the union's "no contract, no work" tradition, a brief strike began when the present agreement expired at midnight March 27. If the new contract is approved, miners should be back at work by April 2, according to UMW president Sam Church Jr.

The Union's bargaining council approved the settlement March 24, after eight and a half hours of deliberation, by a vote of 21 to 14. The proposed contract provides for wage increases of \$1.20 an hour the first year, 50 cents the second year and 40 cents in the third year. Beginning March 27, 1982, miners will also receive quarterly cost-of-living increases of 15 cents per hour. This will bring miners' wages to \$13.86 per hour over the life of the contract. Shift differentials were increased by 10 cents per hour.

In addition to the wage increase, the contract provides for dental care up to \$750 per person per year, doubles company life insurance and increases pensions for retired miners. Miners retired under the 1950 pension plan will get an increase from \$275 per month to \$315 per month during the life of the contract. Disability pensions will be increased by \$20 per month. For those miners retired under the 1974 pension plan, benefits will rise \$25 per month. A \$100-per-month pension for widows of miners retired under the 1950 plan will begin in January 1982.

Other gains include an increase in the protective clothing allowance and in sickness and accident benefits. The BCOA retreated from the demand for a 7-day-a-week, 24-hour-a-day operation that had prompted a temporary breakdown in negotiations.

Industry negotiators also agreed to dismantle the arbitration review board—



The negotiators: left, Peter Palumbo and B.R. Brown for the BCOA; below, Walter Suba, Sam Church and Harrison Combs for the UMWA.

a demand voted through by the union rank and file at the UMW convention in 1979. Under the new grievance procedure, district arbitrators will be the court of last resort and prior decisions of the ARB will not be binding.

Safety second.

The union failed to obtain greater access to mines by union safety inspectors but did gain a concession on one safety issue that has been the cause of numerous wild-

cat strikes. A miner refusing to work because of unsafe conditions can no longer be disciplined by the company until the local mine safety committee has investigated the complaint. (Under the old contract the miner could be dismissed for refusing to work and then had to go through the cumbersome grievance procedure to get his job back.)

In return for the widows' pensions, the union agreed to drop a provision in the current contract requiring signatory companies to pay royalties into the health and retirement funds for non-union coal they purchase. Church said the companies had been paying about four cents per ton on this coal into the fund, while the widows' benefit will net the funds about 50 cents per ton.

In the past the Health and Retirement Fund has had to sue several coal operators, notably Consolidation Coal Company and U.S. Steel, for back royalties on non-union coal. Under the new agreement, such suits will not be necessary. In addition, more lenient eligibility rules will now enable some miners forced into early retirement by lay-offs or disability to collect full pensions.

The operators backed away from demanding replacement of the industry-wide pension plan with company-by-company plans, a move that could have bankrupted several smaller coal operations. Both sides agreed to appoint a panel to study the issue, a move Church said "allowed the operators to save face."

If the membership approves the proposed settlement, it will be the first contract to survive all stages of the ratification procedure without being rejected since the current process was instituted in 1974. And this will also be the shortest coal strike since 1967.

Church said the contract should help the UMW organizing efforts in the western coal fields and the short strike should help prove to foreign markets that the U.S. is a stable source of coal.

The speed with which the contract was negotiated took some members of the bargaining council by surprise, since Church had earlier broken off negotiations and accused the operators—especially those coal companies owned by oil firms—of trying to force a lengthy strike. Church settled for less than the 45 percent increase that was the UMWA's last offer before the breakdown of talks, but the industry conceded every other issue to the union.

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IN THE WORLD



Lech Walesa addresses striking farmers after the police attack in Bydgoszcz.

POLAND

Farmers catch the union bug

By David Ost

BYDGOSZCZ, POLAND

THE MOST RECENT CRISIS OF Polish politics began March 18, when members of Rural Solidarity from this area were denied admittance to a congress of the government-sponsored Regional Union of Farmer Circles and Organizations. After this rebuke, the private farmers who belong to Rural Solidarity held their own Extraordinary Congress of Delegates of Farmers' Circles, where they elected a new leadership. They then called on the Regional Union for formal discussions, but were once again rebuffed.

Insulted a second time by the authorities, the Bydgoszcz farmers marched to the office of the United Peasant Party (UPP, a legal political party), and began their sit-in.

Once the occupation began, all the underlying issues came to the fore. The strikers made it clear that they were continuing the struggle begun during an eight-week sit-in strike by farmers in Rzeszow earlier this year. The agreement that ended that strike specified that the government must come up with new policies to abolish prohibitions against buying land, radically to revamp the pricing and sales system, and to guarantee an immediate increase in the supply of tractors and other industrial goods for private farmers. The government also promised to introduce new school textbooks, so as to make possible "a full presentation of historical truth," and an increase in the circulation of Catholic journals.

In all, the Rzeszow agreement is probably the most far-reaching of the many settlements the government has signed since August.

One farmer told me, "We're fighting for this accord as if we're fighting for our lives. Because we are fighting for our lives. If we were able to buy more land, to purchase the machinery we need, we'd produce enough, not only for Poland but

for export, too. But now we can't even produce enough for ourselves."

Piotr Andrych, a Rural Solidarity delegate from the Lodz area, spoke more generally. "We have an economy of insanity," he said, explaining that more than a third of Polish land lies fallow, yet the government won't allow the kind of reform that could get it into production. There are 6.5 million private farms in Poland, he went on, and only 300,000 tractors. "And yet," Andrych complained, "the government puts new investment in what? In tractors? No, in huge steel mills. What do we need new steel mills for? We need farm equipment if this country is going to feed itself."

Nationwide confrontation.

By March 19, the fourth day of the strike, there were many more than 100 people in the occupied building. (Only 40 took part in the original occupation.) Elected representatives from local Rural Solidarity branches all over Poland had been sent to Bydgoszcz. The strike had become national, and the strikers now had authority to make major decisions on behalf of the entire union.

In the late afternoon a special communique was read in the hall, and broadcast by loudspeaker to the crowd gathered outside. It concerned developments at the Regional National Council on the other side of the city. This was the first word about the developments that were to lead, by the end of the long night, to the call for a general strike throughout Poland.

A session of the Council was scheduled to open that day with discussion of the agricultural situation in Poland. Among those invited, but before the sit-in had begun, were the representatives of Bydgoszcz Solidarity, who now hoped to use the Council as an opportunity to present the case of the Rural Solidarity strikers. But after the meeting had proceeded for some time on other matters one council member suddenly moved to postpone discussion of the farmers' situation until a later date. A vote was tak-

en immediately and the motion passed. The chairman then quickly adjourned the entire session, passing by other items on the agenda that had not formally been repealed.

The Solidarity delegates loudly protested this maneuver. As the chairman and many of the delegates quickly left the hall, Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski appealed to the others to stay and convoke this important discussion that had been agreed upon days before. Forty-five council members decided to stay. Together with the Solidarity members, they set out to prepare a special communique from the disrupted session.

While this was being edited, the authorities tried to lure the council members out of the hall. Rulewski appealed to them to stay, noting that their absence would give the appearance of a sit-in strike by Solidarity, which might pro-

Union activity was new to most of the striking farmers, and there was an air of "waiting for Walesa."

voke an attack by the militia. Only five delegates stayed.

By this time 200 militia and security service (SB) had surrounded the hall. They began filming those inside. The regional procurator warned the group that if they didn't quit the hall in 15 minutes they would be forced out. The police then withdrew. The group hurriedly finished their communique as the police reentered the hall and announced that the gathering was being treated as a sit-in strike. Before the group had time to reply, the police initiated what turned out to be the greatest display of force since Sol-

idarity was established.

The group inside linked arms and began singing the Polish national anthem. One by one the Solidarity members and supporters were wrested apart and beaten. Special treatment was reserved for Rulewski and a comrade, Mariusz Labentowicz. These two were separated from the group, beaten further, and finally thrown through the front gates onto the ground. A third worker, the 68-year-old Michal Bartoszcze, was also badly beaten. He remained in shock for several hours and had to be flown to Warsaw for special treatment. The others stayed in a local hospital.

Full news of these events reached the strikers in the UPP building only toward evening. It was received with outrage and disbelief. People began talking of a nationwide strike alert as the only possible response.

As the strikers assimilated the news, the hall took on an air of "waiting for Walesa." Defiant as these men, and a few women, were, they did not appear to have the same self-confidence, the feeling of independent political competence, as did a national steelworkers' caucus that I observed at Nowa Huta. This may be due to the greater stakes involved. After all, the farmers were proposing a general strike throughout Poland. But the farmers' relative lack of political experience was equally important. Union activity is something new to most of them.

Enter the Bishop.

Late night on March 19 everyone suddenly rose to their feet. But not for Walesa. It was the Bishop Michalowski, a proud, dignified man, dressed regally with an astonishingly beautiful cross on his breast. He bade the group to sit. Then, although the farmers had just heard a full report on the events of the day, they sat silently as it was gone over again for the Bishop. Afterwards, he told the group that they had the full support of the Church in this difficult struggle. "We support you," he said, "because you have supported us. We are coming to you, because you have been coming to us." He then led the strikers in prayer, and departed. Many went to the window to watch as he left.

When Walesa finally arrived around 3:00 a.m., everybody stirred again. After hearing the reports, Walesa agreed that they were "forced" to issue the strike call. The tension in the hall was immense. They seemed only now to become fully conscious of what they were doing. And they were scared.

This call was for a strike everyone dreaded even as it was planned. But the delegates planned it because they'd learned from experience that their government does nothing unless it's forced to.

Solidarity continues to act in a way that helps prolong the political crisis only because it knows that to stop now, to accept government repression as a fact of life, would be a return to the status quo ante that the government wants so much. They feel the government who has broken the truce, even though Solidarity is calling the strike. As the general strike appeal of March 20 put it, those who beat the unionists now "bear the burden of breaking the social peace, and bear the responsibility for the fate of the country."

The main tangible gain Rural Solidarity is seeking in Bydgoszcz is official recognition of their union as the representative of the interests of private farmers. As the farmer Andrych told me, "This building is a place of protest—and of hope." In order to fulfill those hopes, they are convinced, they must have their own union. And they are not the only ones who are convinced. "We have support from everyone, everywhere," said Andrych. "In the end they will register us. They must register us."

David Ost, a student of Soviet-Polish affairs at the University of Wisconsin, has just returned from three weeks in Poland.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Roger Rumpf/AFSC Southeast Asia Resource Center



Many agricultural cooperatives have disbanded, but those that remain are working well. This one in Xieng Khouang claims to have met 80 percent of its food needs.

Laos inches slowly toward recovery

By Chris Mullin

VIENTIANE, LAOS

COMPARED WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, the final stages of the revolution in Laos passed off smoothly. There were no Americans plucked at the last minute from the roof of their embassy, as in Vietnam. No slaughter of the old regime officials, as in Kampuchea.

Instead, in Laos there was a coalition government that the communist Pathet Lao gradually took over. When the time came, most of the old gang simply melted away across the Mekong river to exile in Thailand, France or America.

Yet Laos has generated proportionately more refugees than either Vietnam or Kampuchea. So far at least 250,000 people—about 8 percent of the population—have left and they are still leaving at the rate of 2,000 a month.

This is partly because, even more than its neighbors, Laos before the revolution was a wholly-owned subsidiary of the United States. In 1973, for example, the Lao government anticipated revenue from all sources of \$13.7 million. For the same year American aid totalled \$423 million.

When the Pathet Lao took over, American aid ceased abruptly, which resulted in an immediate collapse of the urban economy. Since most Lao cities are situated along the Mekong River border, flight to Thailand—and the prospect of a ticket to France or the U.S.—was just a boatride away.

Of course, this does not account for all the refugees. Some are Hmong hill-tribesmen who were part of the CIA-sponsored *armee clandestine* that continued to resist the Pathet Lao after the Americans had gone. Others are just farmers who fled the Pathet Lao's first clumsy attempts at agricultural cooperatives. Many in this last category will return and some already have.

On paper Laos remains one of the poorest countries in the world. Four-fifths of its people are subsistence rice farmers with a per-capita income of \$90 a year; Laos is land-locked and completely at the mercy of Thailand for essential supplies. Internal communications are so poor that a rice surplus in the south cannot be transferred to rice deficient areas in the north. On top of that, the country is chronically short of skilled technicians and administrators—a crisis that grows more acute with each new departure across the Mekong.

But in practice the picture is not so gloomy. Laos is rich in natural resources, of which timber and abundant fertile land are only the most obvious. In the past the war and inherent Lao apathy have prevented these from being exploited.

COMECON countries and the UN for capital to develop the country. Aid supplied by the Soviet Union and other East bloc countries, the UN and Sweden accounts for more than 60 percent of the Lao investment budget.

With the exception of Sweden, the West has virtually abandoned Laos. Britain and West Germany are the only two Common Market countries represented in Vientiane and they take little interest. France walked out in a huff two years ago after some of its embassy staff were expelled, allegedly for selling visas.

The early days of Pathet Lao rule were tense. The new rulers had been reared in a hard school; having endured the greatest bombardment in history. (The U.S. dropped more than two tons of bombs per citizen onto the communist-controlled zone.) For 10 years Pathet Lao leaders administered their devastated territory from caves in the northern province of Sam Neua. When they entered Vientiane, many cadres had never seen, let alone administered a city.

"You could not expect the Pathet Lao to be very clever or gentle with the people of Vientiane, many of whom grew fat on the war," says one long-time French resident. He adds: "I was surprised the change of power went so well."

Senior officials of the old regime and officers of the old army were rounded up and sent north for indefinite periods of re-education. Many were not heard of again for months, and today, five years later, many have not reappeared.

From the beginning a shortage of experienced cadres forced the Pathet Lao to rely heavily on the civil service of the old regime. Many ministries up to deputy minister level are still staffed with servants of the old order.

Priorities.

The government's first priorities are self-sufficiency in rice and the re-opening of Routes Seven and Nine through Vietnam to the sea to break the stranglehold exerted by Thailand. The increase in rice production was to be achieved by persuading peasants to irrigate their land, use fertilizer and pool their labor through the formation of small cooperatives. Since the Lao peasantry traditionally work about 100 days a year, this was no small ambition.

From the start the enterprise was dogged by bad luck. Floods and drought lead to a succession of bad harvests and by 1978 all targets had been abandoned. As for the cooperatives, many peasants were simply coerced into pooling their land and labor without being persuaded of the advantages. As a result, production fell still further.

But there was a sudden about-turn in 1979. In his annual speech to the Pathet Lao central committee, Prime Minister Kaysone Phoumvihan denounced offi-

cials who "abuse their powers" and "intimidate the people." No one was obliged to join cooperatives, he said, and anyone who did not wish to remain in a cooperative could leave.

As a result the number of cooperatives fell sharply. In Vientiane province, for example, the number has fallen from 469 in 1979 to 173 in 1981. But many of those that remain are working well and the government is supplying machinery, fertilizer and technical advice in return for the sale of rice to the state. The aim now is to concentrate on creating a limited number of cooperatives in each province and use these as a basis on which to expand.

This approach, combined with decent weather, has already paid dividends. Last year saw a harvest of around one million tons, close to self-sufficiency. For the first time the government has breathing space to concentrate on building up the country's tiny export base in timber, coffee and tin to pay for badly needed imports of oil, machinery and fertilizer.

Meanwhile Route Nine from the southern city of Savannakhet to the Vietnamese port of Da Nang is nowhere near completion. Route Seven, from the northern province of Xieng Khouang to Vinh in Vietnam, is being built by Vietnamese labor and reported to be progressing steadily.

Road and river communication between the capital and the southern half of the country have almost broken down. The Thais have sealed the 600-mile border except for one crossing at Vientiane and Lao boats using the Mekong have been shot at from the Thai side.

Faced with the bloody-minded attitude of the Thais and virtually disowned by the West, the Lao feel they had no choice but to throw in their lot with Vietnam and the Soviet bloc. As premier Kaysone puts it: "We have been assigned by history to fight in the same trench as the Vietnamese."

For all that, Vietnamese influence is not so great as Thai and American propaganda would have the world believe. Foreigners working in Vientiane say they have never seen a Vietnamese advisor in a ministry. Vietnamese troops can be seen in the interior guarding bridges and stra-

tegic installations, but even in provinces bordering Vietnam the administration is firmly in Lao hands.

The Russian profile is far higher. Soviet advisors are all over Vientiane. The Soviet Union has funded a hospital and a gasoline storage depot and Soviet technicians are surveying the country for mineral deposits. In addition, 3,300 Lao students are being educated in Eastern bloc countries. Russians are also training the army, and on-lookers at the National Day parade last December were treated to the unedifying spectacle of Lao soldiers goose-stepping.

But it would be wrong to imply that Laos is a puppet of either the USSR or Vietnam. The style of government is uniquely Lao and aid officials of all creeds can be heard roundly denouncing the Lao for lethargy and incompetence.

Little is known of the men who now run Laos. Prime Minister Kaysone, who rarely appears in public, lacks charisma and appears to work continuously. His speeches, though larded with the rhetoric of Stalinism, also contain a fair dose of common sense.

The Pathet Lao party is controlled by a seven-man politburo of whom, besides Kaysone, the most influential members are reckoned to be the defense minister, Khamtay Siphandon, and the finance minister, Nouhak Phoumsavan. There is no evidence to support reports, usually emanating from Bangkok, of serious divisions within the Pathet Lao between those who take a pro-Hanoi line and those whose politics are more nationalist. Sources in Vientiane say that disagreement came to an end with the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in 1979.

Surprisingly, given its poverty and lack of infra-structure, the future of Laos can be regarded with qualified optimism. There is enough land for everyone and when the first generation of foreign-trained technicians return they will begin to make good the crippling brain drain. And when the roads to Vietnam are complete, Laos will be able to get Thailand off its neck. Progress will be slow, but given even average luck Laos will muddle through.

Chris Mullin, former London correspondent for *In These Times*, has been traveling in Southeast Asia.

Der is one of many Laotians who survived for years in the northern caves.



John Yoder/MCC Southeast Asia Resource Center

EL SALVADOR

Documents tell different tale

By John Dinges

WASHINGTON

BOUND BETWEEN STIFF BROWN paper covers, complete with photo inserts, title pages, glossaries of terms and translations, the inch-and-a-half packet is entitled "Documents Demonstrating Communist Support of the Salvadoran Insurgency."

The meat in the package is a collection of 20 documents in Spanish captured from Salvadoran guerrilla hideouts, 47 pages in all of handwritten jottings, aide memoirs, minutes of meetings typed on paper torn out of spiral notebooks.

They are the original, raw intelligence upon which the State Department and the Reagan administration based its White Paper released Feb. 23. There was nothing secret about the data: 100 copies of the documents were released to reporters along with the White Paper.

The captured documents are intended to prove the Reagan administration's contention that the Soviet Union and International Communism are sponsoring armed aggression in America's front yard, and justify the first dispatch of American troops as advisors into a combat area since the Vietnam war.

But do they?

Leaving aside the matter of their authenticity, they unquestionably demonstrate that socialist countries have supported the efforts of the Salvadoran opposition to overthrow the country's ruling civilian-military junta, and that immense quantities of arms and ammunition were on their way at the time the Salvadoran guerrillas launched their offensive in January.

But these very same documents—in addition to other intelligence reports available to the Reagan administration that were not included in the White Paper—provide conclusions that fall far short of the administration's portrayal of El Salvador as an arena of East-West confrontation in which the U.S. faces the challenge of the Soviet Union.

• The White Paper charges that some 800 tons of arms were promised to El Salvador, and that 200 tons were delivered to the insurgents by the time of the offensive. The captured documents themselves, however, provide evidence of far lesser quantities promised or in shipment and indicate that only about 10 tons ever actually crossed the border.

• Moreover, battlefield evidence gathered since January, including the statements of a captured Nicaraguan soldier-turned-informer, fails to corroborate the White Paper picture and, in fact, reveals that the guerrillas were forced to depend on relatively antiquated rifles and other weapons purchased on the international black market.

• In contrast to the Reagan interpretation that the Soviet Union masterminded the arms traffic, the documents reveal that the guerrillas' Communist Party representative encountered a cool reception in Moscow, and was deeply concerned that Soviet "indecisiveness" might jeopardize any promise of arms made by other socialist countries.

The documents—read literally—portray a period of nearly a year in which the Salvadoran opposition was gearing up politically and militarily for the January offensive. A relatively haphazard coalition of guerrilla forces and civilian politicians forged a united general command called the United Revolution Directorate, obtained arms, logistical and political backing from socialist countries, particularly their chief allies, Nicaragua and Cuba, then confronted serious supply bottleneck problems and finally launched an offensive that sputtered into isolated skirmishes and sabotage after 10 days.

None of the documents, however, indicates anything but groups of Salvadorans organizing their own revolution. If the

Soviet Union and Cuba were pulling the strings behind the guerrilla movement, as Secretary of State Alexander Haig has charged, evidence of such control is not to be found in any of the captured documents.

The State Department White Paper says that the documents show "commitments [by the socialist countries] to supply the insurgents nearly 800 tons of the most modern weapons and equipment [and] the covert delivery to El Salvador of nearly 200 tons of those arms, mostly through Cuba and Nicaragua."

Yet reading the documents, it is impos-

arms in storage, only four tons had been smuggled into El Salvador.

The White Paper provides a photograph of a trailer truck captured at the Honduran-Salvadoran border in late January this year with 100 M-16 rifles, some of which the State Department says were traced as weapons captured from the U.S. in Vietnam. Curiously, however, another document attached to the White Paper lists in detail the 60 tons in arms promised to the guerrillas by Vietnam but does not include any M-16s—which was the basic infantry weapon used by American soldiers in Vietnam.

A guerrilla family in Morazan displays Belgian-made semi-automatic rifles, available on the black market for about \$2,000 apiece.



Raw intelligence data offered to support the White Paper in fact contradict its conclusions.

sible to determine where these numbers come from. The State Department, which declined further elaboration on its conclusions and stopped providing copies of the original documents, has not explained. The highest figure mentioned anywhere in the documents is in the handwritten Nov. 1 letter from a certain "Vladimir," who was identified by the State Department as the guerrillas' logistics coordinator in Nicaragua. He wrote that 150 tons of arms had already arrived in Cuba and that more was scheduled to arrive "this week" for a total of about 300-400 tons. But plans to smuggle "109 tons" into El Salvador in November were "almost impossible," he added.

And another document, the minutes of a guerrilla general staff meeting in late September, reported that of 130 tons of

A U.S. intelligence officer with wide experience in Latin America during the past decade said the tonnages reported in the White Paper were "highly unrealistic...unless they slipped in a few tanks with it." He said "hiding the weapons and protecting them from corrosion in tropical El Salvador would make such large quantities a liability."

In addition, battlefield reports from El Salvador have not produced evidence of large quantities of captured weapons, and journalists on the scene are reporting that the only weapons seen in battle areas are relatively old and unsophisticated.

Other sources of intelligence available to Reagan analysts at the time the White Paper was issued tended to contradict the picture of huge arms shipments, but the reports were not included in the packet of documents.

For example, on Jan. 30, Salvadoran government forces captured a young Nicaraguan army lieutenant, Orlando Tardencilla, who admitted he led a group of 130 Salvadoran guerrillas in battle. According to Foreign Broadcast Information Service—which is operated by the CIA and distributed to other government agencies—Tardencilla said the Salvadoran guerrillas received support "at the finance level, mainly so they may buy weapons on the black market.... Cuba sends money to the guerrillas. It also sends arms. But it gives more money than arms so that the government does not get im-

plicated. Although 12 tons of arms have been sent to El Salvador, this represents only 1 percent of what is at the disposal of the guerrillas outside the country."

The Soviet Union.

The key document in Reagan's case that the Soviet Union is the mastermind behind the Salvadoran guerrilla offensive is a report of Salvadoran Communist Party chief Shafik Handil's tour of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany and the Soviet Union between June 2 and July 22, 1980. It is the only piece of evidence that actually mentions the Soviet Union, with the exception of a passing reference in another document to a "Sov." being present at a meeting in Mexico City with Socialist diplomats.

The document contains the list of 60 tons of arms promised by Vietnam and smaller, unspecified amounts of arms, uniforms and medical equipment from other countries. Handil, according to the document, went to Vietnam at the suggestion of a second level Soviet Communist Party Central Committee official who offered to pay his air fare. After Handil's trip to Hanoi and the other countries, he returned to Moscow, expecting a meeting with a top level Soviet Central Committee official.

According to the White Paper account, Handil then left Moscow "with assurances that the Soviets agreed in principle to transport the Vietnamese arms."

The supporting document, however, puts the encounter in another light. Handil was refused a meeting with the high Soviet official and "expressed his unhappiness with the denial of a meeting at the proper level and the non-resolution of the request for help."

A few weeks later, according to the document, Handil received a telegram in Managua, Nicaragua, in which the Soviets granted his request to give military training to 30 (presumably Salvadoran) youths studying in Moscow, but ignored his request to ship the Vietnamese arms. The document concludes, "The *companion* [Handil] expressed his concern that the Soviet's indecisiveness could affect not only the help they might give but also [prejudice] the willingness to cooperate of the other parties of the European socialist camp...." There, in mid-sentence, the document provided by the State Department ends.

Carter administration Latin American specialist Robert Pastor said that until late last year intelligence reports showed relatively small amounts of arms entering El Salvador with Cuban help.

Then Carter's intelligence learned of the Shafik visit to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, seeking arms, Pastor said, and detected a "quantum leap" the second week in January of "credible intelligence" showing large amounts of sophisticated weapons in the hands of the guerrillas as they opened their offensive.

But the new information on Cuban and Soviet support of the arms traffic, Pastor said, "did not change my view of the nature of the guerrilla movement—that they are an indigenous movement strongly supported by the Soviets and Cubans, but not pawns."

The difference between the Carter and Reagan administrations' interpretation of the information, he said, is that "they say the Cubans are directing it all." But "even if the Soviet Union and Cuba went away, the problem would not go away. That's because the problem is primarily an indigenous one which the Cubans and the Soviets are exploiting for their own ends," Pastor concludes.

Before taking office, Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig signalled their desire to act immediately and to put substance into the tough anti-Soviet rhetoric of the campaign. President Reagan "would draw the line at the first opportunity against Soviet adventurism" in the Third World, Reagan officials said in background briefings.

The fight between guerrillas clearly identified as leftists and a U.S.-backed regime in Salvador was made to order. It was, one Reagan official told a reporter, "a fortuitous combination of coincidence and circumstances."

John Dinges is co-author with Saul Landau of *Assassination on Embassy Row*.

The Lady is a Felon

The Harris case is a for the instruction of

By Ann Jones

WHEN JEAN HARRIS pulled the trigger of her .32 in the Scarsdale bedroom of Dr. Herman Tarnower, I was on vacation. I had just brought to a close five years of research and writing on *Women Who Kill*. Jean Harris, as it turned out, had brought to a close almost everything she cared about.

Friends sent me the original reports of the shooting, saying it was right up my alley and sensational because the victim was a famous man, almost a member of the family. (Who hadn't given at least two weeks of his/her life into the hands of Dr. Tarnower?) But the case failed to interest me. It was at once far too predictable and far too unusual. "Now," I thought, "we'll hear all about woman's helpless passion for her man, about humble devotion and jealousy and despair at unrequited love." That was the predictable part; but because jealousy is in fact a motive that seldom drives women to murder, the Harris case seemed atypical of women's homicides and so unlikely to reveal much beyond itself.

What I hadn't counted on is how much all of us would be fascinated by the thing itself, how much all of us seemed to want to hear about the helpless passion of this particular woman who seemed outwardly so self-possessed. First the journalists were drawn into the case, and through their efforts the rest of us until it became impossible to avoid. People I scarcely knew began inviting me to dinner in hopes that as an authority on homicide I would have something new to contribute to conversation that, as the trial dragged on, grew repetitive. Otherwise serious and sensitive people took straw polls at parties to determine the guilt or innocence of Jean Harris. In the end, having decided not to attend the trial, I found myself buying every paper.

That obsession with the case, so puzzling even to the journalists who fostered it, was "explained" in print and on the air by lawyers, psychologists, and miscellaneous experts: "This is a classic case—the classic love triangle—the classic tragedy of passion and jealousy." Many muttered about "a woman scorned" and alluded once again to the legendary Frankie who, having been done wrong, strapped on her gun and blew Johnny

away. But those lines simply describe the plot; they do not explain our fascination with the drama. What interested me was not the case itself but our interest in it. And since other love triangle killings and celebrity cases have come and gone without imprisoning a substantial part of New York's press corps in a courtroom, I wondered: "Why is everyone so interested in this case at this time?"

Few women kill.

IN ANSWER THAT QUESTION, speculation must be anchored in fact. Amid all the talk of homicidal ladies, we should remember that women actually commit few homicides—only some 15 percent of the killings in this country, and even that rate has recently been declining. The so-called classic murder of jealous passion, like every other kind of murder, is far more likely to be committed by a man who murders "his" woman in a fit of possessiveness ("If I can't have her, nobody else can!"); for good measure he may also murder the man who is his rival for her affections. The so-called classic love triangle murder usually finds the unwanted wife the victim of her husband, who then makes off with "his" other woman.

In the past jealous women have at times killed their straying lovers or their rivals, but most women in this culture are trained to inflict their disappointments on themselves. We are taught not to become angry but to become depressed and self-destructive. Jean Harris, brought up to be a good girl—schooled in what in the late 19th century was called "ladyhood"—apparently followed that pattern, and all the speed and assorted uppers and downers provided by a decade by her Dr. Feelgood sweetheart seem to have kept her just functional enough to go on training other girls to be good. Women like Jean Harris are programmed to commit suicide, not homicide.

These days, when such "good girls" resort to homicide, they most often are battered and sexually abused women who turn against their assailants. In many of these cases the homicide is an accident; the woman means merely to prevent or stop a beating, but a chance blow or a hair trigger brings death instead. In some cases she strikes quickly, in self-defense. In others—notably that of Joyce DeViliez, a hostage in her own home for 23 years—the woman painstakingly plans murder. But in all the battered women's cases—from accident to justifiable homicide to premeditated murder—the women are impelled not by passionate love but by deadly fear. In terms of the his-

tory of women and homicide in this country and of current patterns of homicide, then, the Harris case is not "classic," and certainly not typical.

Old-fashioned.

IN TERMS OF RECEIVED OPINION about the feelings and behavior "proper" to women, however, it is not only classic but appallingly old-fashioned. Even women who identify themselves with feminism only far enough to claim equal pay for equal work profess shock; and some feminist spokeswomen, asked to comment, say the case bears no relation whatsoever to feminism.

It is as though we were caught in a time warp. Almost everyone has commented with surprise or resignation on the strange, inescapable fact that Jean Harris—intelligent, attractive, well-educated, well-off, successful, independent—simply could not live without the man she loved, that for his sake she willingly endured years of humiliation and insult and then, despondent at his rejection, wanted only to die. This dependency we are told—again by way of explanation—is also "classic." Whether such dependency of woman upon man can endure is doubtful. But certainly it is an old tradition. And certainly it is the point.

How reassuring it is to men to know that women, no matter how independent, simply cannot live without them. How reassuring to all those housewives discomfited by "women's lib" to know that, even as they suspected, the world of the independent career woman is a cutthroat competition for men; no matter how unsatisfactory their own husbands might be, those poor things are their own.

And what a chastening and timely lesson to all those feminists who have tried to seduce women away from love and marriage and devotion to men. Let feminists rant on about equality and independence; the "classic" devotion of women to men—like murder—will out. Like the other great tabloid trials of this century—those of Alice Crimmins and of Ruth Snyder (executed with her lover Judd Gray in 1928 for the murder of her husband)—the trial of Jean Harris was a morality play in the guise of a soap opera—a morality play designed to teach good conduct to "good girls." The Harris case is the anti-feminist lecture of our day.

This reassurance that good girls still love even bad boys is doubly welcome, coming as it does after several highly publicized trials of battered women who

killed their assailants and—in a few notorious cases—were acquitted on grounds of temporary insanity or found to have committed justifiable homicide in self-defense. National publications that only two years ago predicted an "open season on husbands" thanks to the "vigilante justice in the women's movement" now reaffirm that real women—including the most accomplished ladies—still go wild for men. And even a singularly unattractive, balding, 69-year-old philanderer, if he plays his cards right, can have many young, beautiful women fighting tooth and fingernail for the privilege of sharing his bed.

These comforting notions do not mark the failure of feminism. In fact, if feminism had not altered a few social practices and the attitudes of many women and men, we would not need such reassurance. It is precisely at those stressful moments in history when everything seems to be changing that we worry most about woman's proper place. Ruth Snyder was executed in the wake of World War I, woman's suffrage, and the sexual revolution of the roaring '20s—a time if ever there was one when woman needed to be put in her place and kept there. The ordeal of Alice Crimmins followed upon another so-called sexual revolution and the awakening of a renewed women's movement. A glance backward into the crystal ball of history could have told us that the '70s wave of feminism and the imagined "open season on men" of recent years would breed anxiety and prompt a new morality play for the instruction of uppity women.

A new twist.

THE HARRIS TRIAL DID HAVE one new twist. It has been customary in these exemplary cases to depict the woman's fate as a consequence of her bad character. The simple lesson is that if she had been a good girl she would not have come to a bad end. If Ruth Snyder had not committed adultery, she would not have fallen to murder and the electric chair. If Alice Crimmins had not been promiscuous, her husband would have stayed home, her children would not have disappeared and she never would have gone to jail. So the lessons go.

But all the accounts tell us that Jean Harris, aside from being a bit of a snob, was an estimable lady. She had a love affair without benefit of clergy, but our current sexual mores don't condemn her for that. Besides, her fault lay not in being unfaithful to a man but in trying too hard to be faithful—a fault that men generously can forgive. With her good manners, her propriety, her medicated

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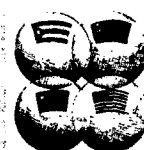
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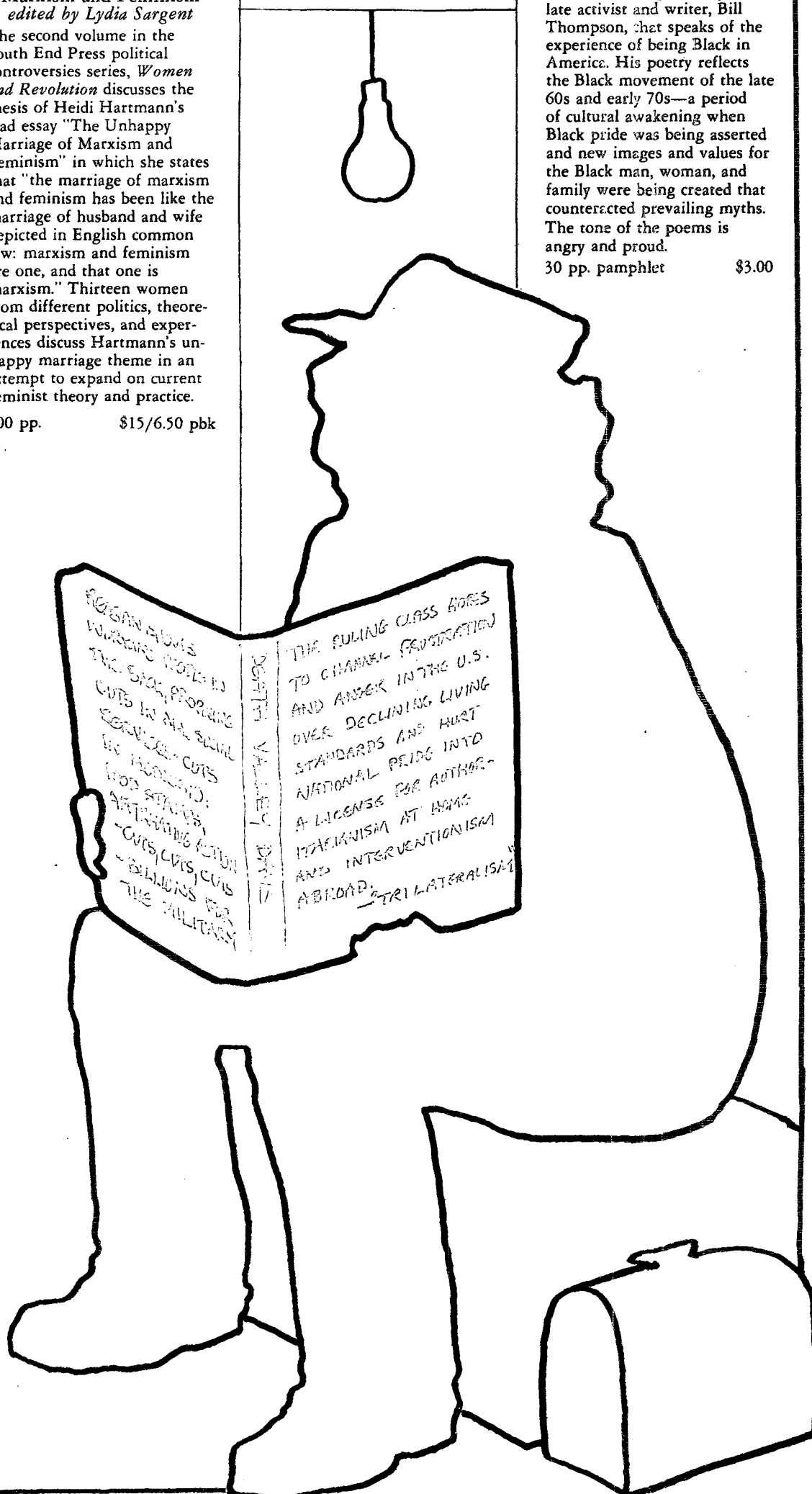
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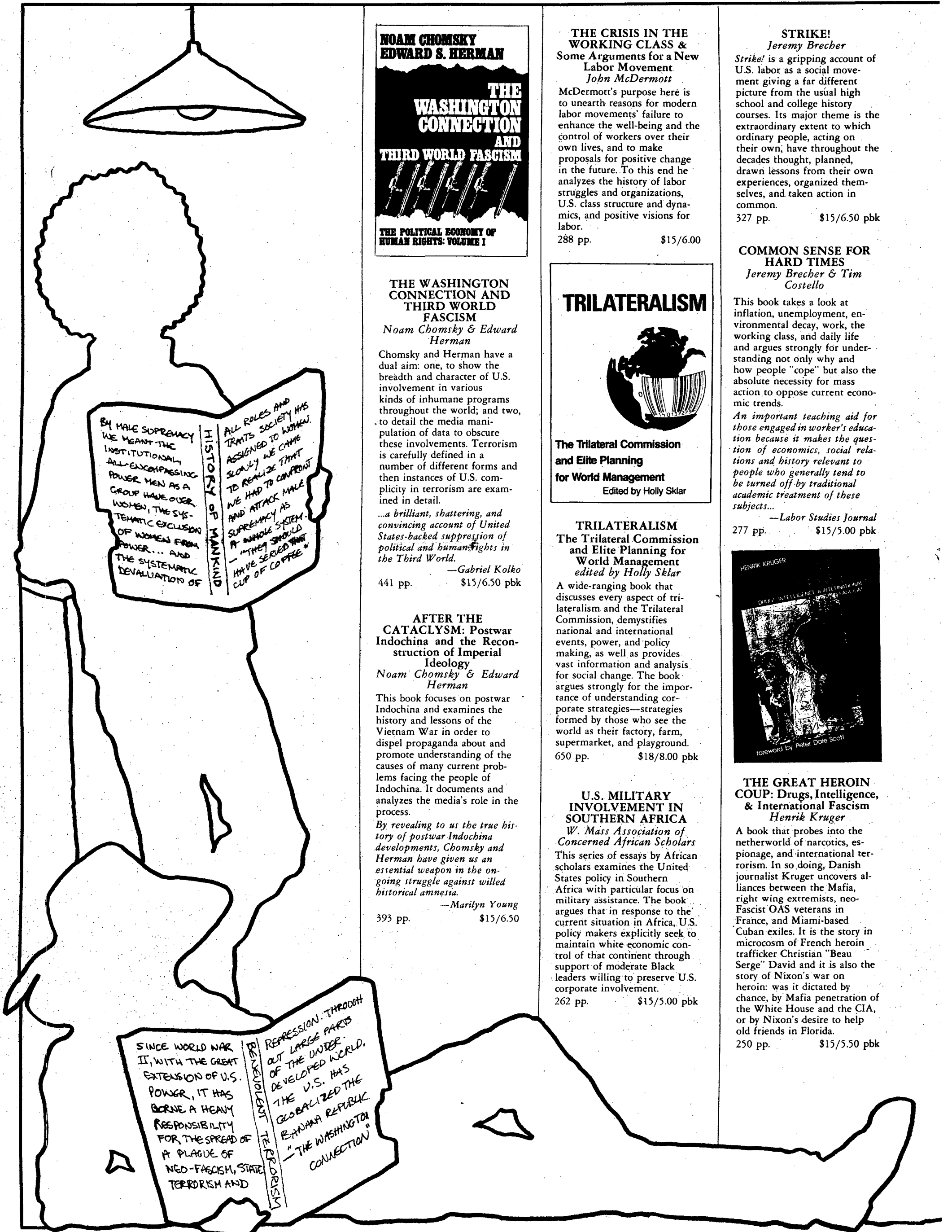
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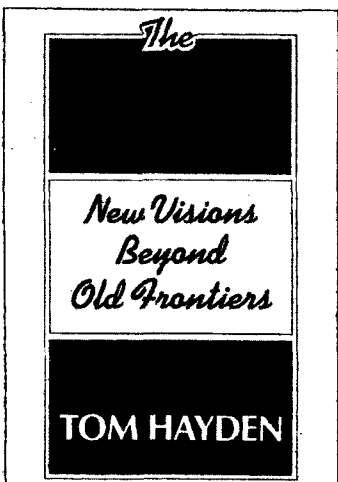
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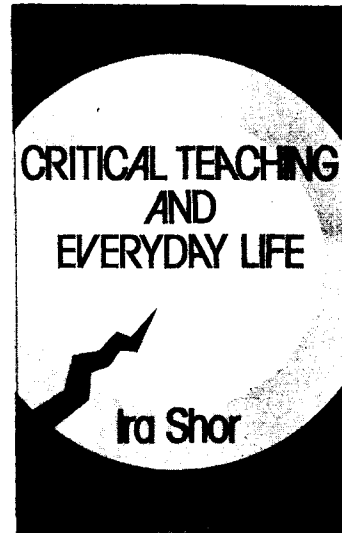
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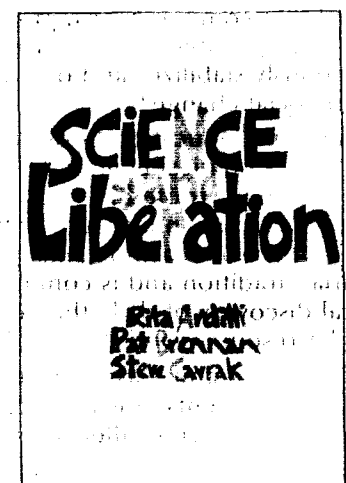
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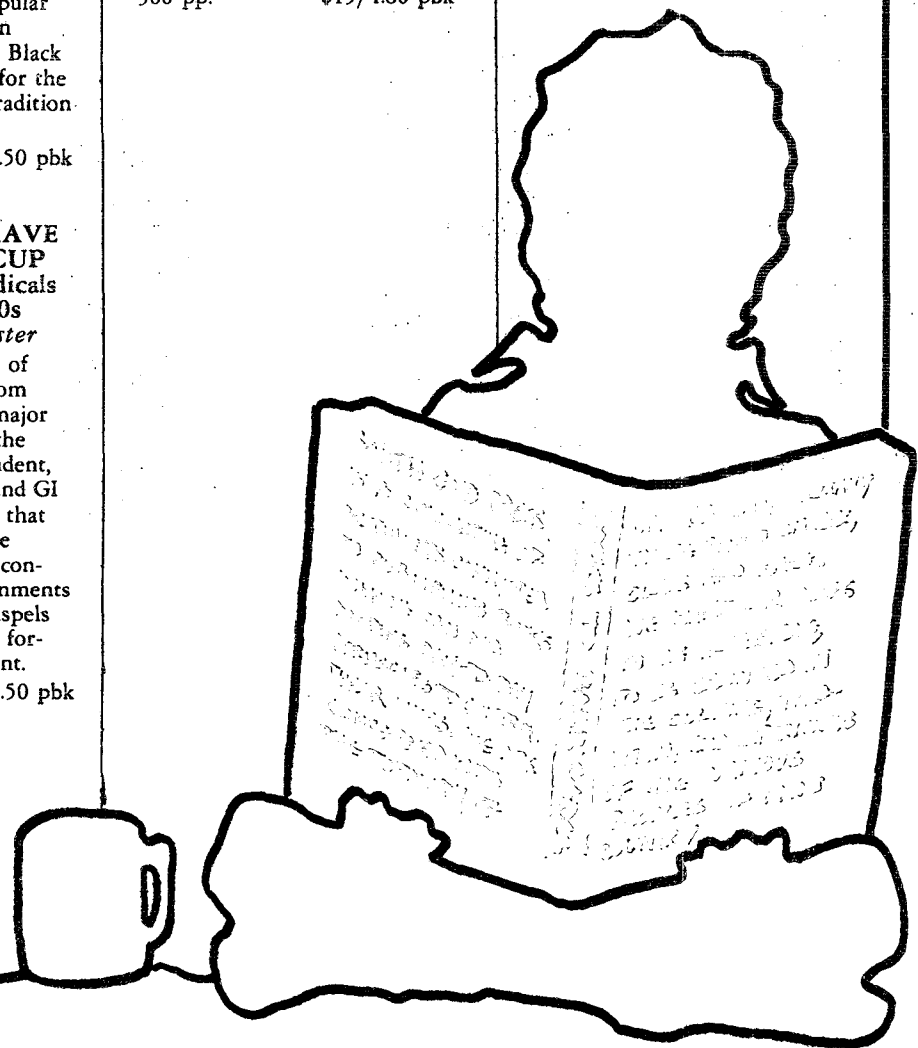
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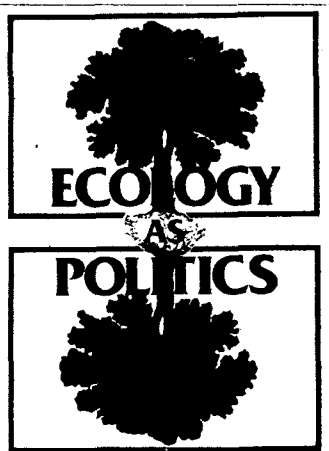
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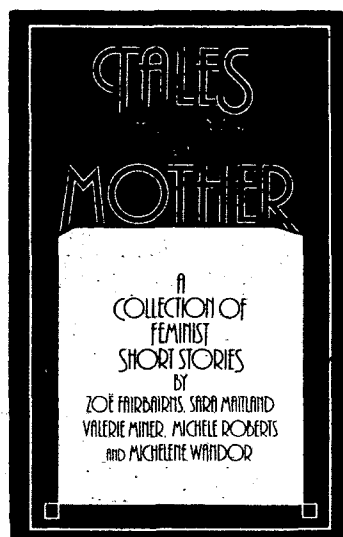
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Zoe Fairbairns, Sara Maitland,
Valerie Miner, Michele
Roberts, & Michèle
Waudor

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new morality play
for pity women.



composure, Jean Harris is all that a lady should be. Her own attorney, mired in traditional notions of ladyhood, construed the notorious Scarsdale letter, with its vicious references to rival Lynne Tryforos, as evidence of Harris' "love"; women correctly read it as a message of rage, and it helped to convict her. Then her attorneys and newsmen alike wept for Jean Harris who, in her inability to make a satisfying life for herself, her abject dependency on a man who mistreated her, and her animosity toward her rival, represented the antithesis of the respect for self and for other women that feminists espouse and who became instead a curious model of how a real lady behaves—until she runs amok.

A woman's passion—all that unbounded love defense attorney Aumon said she had to give away—is supposed to serve male privilege, not challenge it. So observers in and out of the jury box who were willing to believe all her abject confessions of love and desperation balked at her explanation of how the killing occurred. "We didn't believe her," jurors said. And all the evidence of her life and all the strung-out paranoia of that last weekend when she was (as she would have been called if of another class or color) a speed freak undergoing de-tox, hungry for a fix—all that faded before some disputed medical evidence of skin cells in the wrong place and some trajectories crudely calculated in the jury room with a juror in bloody pajamas as target. "I was a person, and nobody knew," she wrote in that pathetic note. Tarnower didn't know, the jurors didn't know, Jean Harris didn't know. It's hard to be a lady and a person.

Illustration
Tom Greenleaf

Yes, you can.

COMMENTATORS TRYING TO EXPLAIN the verdict fell back on: "Well, she killed a man. You can't just kill a man." Bit of course you can. While taking a life is universally regarded as morally wrong, the law recognizes that under certain circumstances a life may be taken with impunity. Killing in self-defense is justifiable homicide, and accidental killing (as Harris claimed Tarnower's death to be) is not punishable unless some degree of recklessness or negligence is found. Nevertheless, when a man lies dead and a woman holds the gun, someone must pay for it.

And if the killing of Tarnower was not an accident, as Harris claimed it was, then perhaps she was as vengeful as all those homicidal battered women appeared to be. Luckily, as a man-on-the-street interviewed by New York's Channel 4 put it, the Harris conviction would serve as a lesson to all women that they can't shoot men just because the men cheat on them. (That lesson, he added, was vitally important, for without it "all men would get shot.") In the context of the Harris case then, "You cannot kill a man", means: A woman cannot kill a man and get away with it.

So the trial confused many observers by teaching two lessons: that (1) real ladies should bestow their passionate love on a man, but (2) when he tells them to go away, they should go and kill themselves, if necessary, but not him. (Cesare Lombroso, the Italian scientist known as the father of modern criminology, told us that a woman abandoned by her man would find her only honorable course in suicide.) From the "classic" point of view suicide is what Jean Harris should have chosen. If only she had not shown us her rage. If only she had succeeded in killing herself there by the pond where the daffodils grow in the spring, her record of seamliness would have remained unblemished. She would have spared criminal justice the embarrassing spectacle of packing a lady off to prison usually reserved for poor and non-white women. And she would have set a much tidier example of how a lady should behave.

But instead, she walked in and he rolled over, embracing the pillow, and said something like, "Oh, shut up, Jean. I'm trying to sleep." And then everything went wrong. ■

©1981 Ann Jones. Ann Jones is the author of *Women Who Kill* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$15.95). This essay is adapted from a new chapter on the Jean Harris trial that will be included in the Fawcett Columbine paperback edition of the book to be published in October.

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ANTI-SEMITISM

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR editorial, "Anti-Semitism and the Left" (*ITT*, March 4). I found your comments on Israel particularly insightful and appropriate to us in the Jewish left, struggling with our attitudes towards Israel vis-a-vis the Palestinians. To carry your ideas one step further: Zionism was originally supported by the Jewish left because of its social democratic and anti-colonialist doctrines. Simha Flappan writes in *Zionism and the Palestinians* that prominent Zionist leaders in the early 20th century, such as Martin Buber and Arthur Ruppin, called for both Palestinian and Jewish statehood. They viewed Jews and Arabs (with similar Asian cultural and religious roots) as natural allies in the struggle against oppressive Christian and European institutions. When seen in this light, the tragedy of the Arab-Israeli conflict is especially disturbing.

I am pleased to read of the formation of the New Jewish Agenda. Zionists who support third world liberation movements, and still cling to the dreams of Buber and Ruppin, should begin discussing alternatives to Camp David with like-minded Palestinians who also recognize Israel's right to statehood. Only through this kind of dialogue will the hateful myths perpetrated by over 60 years of nationalistic propaganda (disseminated by both sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict), translate into a lasting peace that includes Palestinian representatives in the negotiations.

In short, Jews involved in the left must expose anti-Semitism in their allied movements and also recognize that supporting Israel does not necessarily contradict their political beliefs.

I want to add that I believe *In These Times* is one of the best journals available. I try to share it with as many people as possible. Thank you very much, and keep up the great work!

—Frank Hornstein
St. Paul, Minn.

IT AIN'T US, BABE

TO SUGGEST, AS DOES THE PRESENCE of the photo selected for the *ITT* March 4 cover, that women—even of the ruling class—have anything to do with the power-brokering that's enjoying a public, unabashed vogue with the advent of the Reagan/Haig genocide team is to admit to limited powers of observation, if not analysis.

Women are not creating tax and budget cuts to benefit themselves nor sending arms and war games coaches to their buddies in El Salvador. We, instead, are observing the ultimate in old-boy networks—networks held together with the complicity of men from every economic class. To miss this is to miss an essential point.

—Kathy Winer
New Haven, Conn.

A MISTAKE

IT WAS A MISTAKE TO USE A PHOTO OF a woman, particularly an elderly woman, to depict "the rich" on the March 4 cover.

Though wealthy elderly women certainly exist, they are not the group that the left should be targeting in our attack against Reagan's fiscal policies. Women and the aged are two of the

groups most victimized by the current rightward turn led by Reagan.

The choice of this cover photo is particularly disheartening since it was published the week of International Women's Day (March 8), about which not one word was mentioned in the issue.

If *ITT* wants support from women, it must be more clearly supportive of women's struggles.

—Judy Lombardi, Anne Thompson,
Claudia Leight and Iren Reville
Baltimore

WRONG TARGET

TOO BAD THE EXCELLENT ARTICLE, "A Class Act," detailing Reagan's windfall for the rich through tax and budget cuts, is marred by the symbol of an elderly woman as beneficiary. That arresting cover picture only perpetuates the myth that rich widows control the wealth of America. On the contrary—three-quarters of the elderly poor are female, cuts such as food stamps will literally take food out of their mouths, and the compounding effect of one cut upon another will be devastating. Yes, there are some wealthy old women, but they neither control the wealth nor are they at all typical. If you want a target to throw darts at, use a white male tycoon.

—Tish Sommers
President, Older Women's League
Oakland, Calif.

Editor's note: We have received many letters similar to these three, and agree with them all. It was a lapse of judgment, misleading and unfair to use the photo that we did. We thank the readers who have pointed this out.

ROTTEN APPLES

AFTER WATCHING MEDIA COVERAGE of Mr. Reagan's two cabinets—the kitchen one and the formal dining room one—I have concluded that we can forget all those acronyms that used to define the government in Washington, like OSHA or CETA or HUD. The only letters we need to remember are WORM, for we now have a government of the WORMS, by the WORMS and for the WORMS. WORMS are, of course, White Old Rich Males.

We can only hope that our society is unlike nature, where the domain of the worms is one of death and decay.

—Marvin A. Gluck
Topanga, Calif.

HOPE

THOUGH I DON'T AGREE WITH ALL that is published in *ITT*, on balance *In These Times* has provided me with a great deal of hope that the left in our country is still alive and kicking. Magazines such as yours, *The Progressive*, *The Nation* and *Working Papers* keep the promise and hope of the democratic left alive.

—Jerel McLeod
Rapid City, S.D.

C'MON

VELYN REILLY'S REVIEW OF THE Albee adaptation of *Lolita* ("Cheap Thrills," *ITT*, March 11) was a great disappointment in an otherwise excellent issue of *ITT*.

At a time when the fashion industry seeks 12, 13 and 14-year-olds to outfit in sex-object attire and the women's movement is just beginning to uncover the extent of child pornography and child rape, Reilly's most critical statement about *Lolita* is that a "gentle, sil-

ly, and explicit tone" is not maintained throughout the play.

Is art immune from political analysis? C'mon!

Humbert Humbert is portrayed as having an amusing sexual quirk while the 12-year-old girl, Lolita, "wants it." The play reflects and lends legitimacy to the culture's trend to objectifying little girls. It's patriarchal fantasy: great art or no.

ITT readers might be interested—I learned this from another news source—to know that the Boston production of *Lolita* has caused quite a stir there, including protests by a group called Women Against Pornography.

—Kathy Parrent
Cincinnati, Ohio

BOTH WAYS?

ITT VOCIFEROUSLY DECRIED THE closing of the Dodge main plant in Hamtramck as yet another sign of the auto industry's irresponsible abandonment of the City of Detroit. If I'm not mistaken, the closing of Dodge main left an antiquated three-story Cadillac plant its only auto manufacturing facility remaining in the city. Now *ITT* is bemoaning Cadillac's efforts to build a new plant in the city (*ITT*, March 4). If progressives are to retain any credibility in a Reagan era, we cannot simultaneously bemoan the lack of manufacturing jobs in the inner city and oppose the construction of new urban manufacturing facilities.

—Timothy W. McNally
Putnam, Conn.

David Moberg replies: I am not opposed to building a new Cadillac plant in Detroit, and neither are most of GM's critics. But supporting new manufacturing jobs in the cities doesn't mean asking cities to become corporate bootlickers. There is compelling evidence that GM could build its plant with only minor modifications so that most of Poletown would remain intact. Also, there is no justification for the massive tax abatement that GM is requesting, not because it is financially necessary but simply because it's money that can be taken from the public purse without much effort.

REMEMBER THE IWW

NELL PAINTER'S OTHERWISE INTEResting and informative article "Black Labor: A Long Row to Hoe" (*ITT*, March 4) is marred by one omission: the role of the Industrial Workers of the World in organizing black workers in the early 1900s, after the demise of the Knights of Labor and before the rise of the CIO.

Besides being virtually the only labor organization to oppose the Asian Exclusion Act, the IWW attempted to organize both white and black workers in the South—following its credo that all workers should unite, regardless of "color, creed, nationality, sex or politics." To give one example of many regarding the IWW's refusal to accept Jim Crow, when the Brotherhood of Timber Workers, a Southern labor organization founded in 1911, decided to affiliate with the IWW in 1912, it could do so only if it stopped its Jim Crow practices. The IWW recognized that race prejudice was fostered by capitalists who kept "the workers fighting each other, while the boss gets the profit." Although the IWW may never have had a huge black membership, its stance back in the early 1900s—that "the economic interests of all workers, be they white, black, brown or yellow, are identical and all are included in the program of the IWW"—should not be forgotten.

—Nancy Krieger
Seattle, Wash.

PRINT ON

IT WAS WITH DEEP REGRET (THOUGH with no great surprise, considering the Medieval mentality that has descended on our nation with the resur-

gence of the extreme right) that we received your latest communique regarding *ITT*'s precarious financial future. It appears that our struggle against the cudgel of capitalism has only begun. We've a long seige ahead of us. But, in our efforts even to maintain our political identity, *ITT* provides an essential support system. We will give as much and as often as we are able.

Please do everything you can to stay in print. The written message is socialism's most valuable tool—not only does it provide the rarely expressed alternative view, but it is a unifying factor of inestimable value by which leftists can identify each other and thereby bridge the chasm of political isolation.

Our very best wishes for your continued existence. *ITT* is a desperately needed and vitally important publication.

—Dr. and Mrs. Eldon C. Johnson
Grand Junction, Colo.

WRITE ON!

I CAN'T EXCLAIM FAVORABLY ENOUGH about your article "Microshock in the Information Society" (*ITT*, Jan. 21). Robert Howard wrote the most lucid and illuminating piece I've seen yet on the impact of technological change in our working places. We have seen much of what is discussed in the article taking place in nearly every shop at Pacific Telephone. It has gotten so that hardly anyone believes the supervisor's glib assurances that this new machine or procedure will save time and energy compared to the old way of doing a job. Most of us realize now that the new work will be tedious, more stressful and less and less a service to customers than before.

Your newspaper is one of the very few publications that has any meaning and makes any sense in these times.

—Jennifer Trumbly
Secretary-Treasurer, Communications
Workers of America, Dist. 9
Stockton, Calif.

GETTING IT STRAIGHT

I ENJOYED MARTIN POPPER'S interesting review of Janet Stevenson's biography of Robert W. Kenny, *The Undiminished Man* (*ITT*, Feb. 25).

There is a bit of history or historical recollection that needs to be straightened out. Popper states that in 1938 Kenny became Attorney General of California, the only Democratic candidate elected to statewide office in a Republican sweep. He also notes that Kenny became leader of his party in 1942 in his reelection that year to that office.

The facts are somewhat different. In 1938 Kenny was elected to the state senate from Los Angeles County. In those days of the malapportioned State Senate, Bob Kenny was Los Angeles' only state senator. He was elected as part of a Democratic sweep that year in California, which ran against the trend of some Roosevelt and New Deal reverses nationally and included the election of liberal New Dealer Culbert Olson to the governorship and Democrat Sheridan Downey to the U.S. Senate.

In 1942, when Earl Warren vacated the attorney general's position to run successfully against Olson for governor, Bob Kenny was elected attorney general.

—Rick Tuttle
Venice, Calif.

HOLD ON

I AM AN IMMIGRANT FROM SWEDEN. Between issues of *ITT* I sometimes lose my sanity, give in to give-up sentiments, cry and scream. Thanks for putting me back together once a week.

—Eva Ollen
Rochester, N.Y.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

JAMES LIVINGSTON

Two versions of socialist liberty

LAST TIME OUT, I NOTED that corporate leaders are becoming increasingly explicit about their fear of equality, and accordingly suspicious of government by the people: they hope to rescue private enterprise by restricting the scope of political democracy. But this is hardly a revelation to most readers of *In These Times*. So I'm going to enliven the topic by suggesting that the socialist left's fear of liberty leads to the same faith in Leviathan that sustains corporate leaders in their hour of darkness.

The occasion for such impertinence is Robert Heilbroner's *Marxism: For and Against* (1980), a book that is remarkable for its candid summary of sentiments which abound on the socialist left. In the concluding section of the book ("The Commitment to Socialism"), Heilbroner suggests that "the main emphasis of a socialist culture must be on the enhancement of the social consciousness of its citizens, not only as an awareness of each person's obligations toward the collectivity of others, but even more, as an awareness of the moral priority of society over the rights of its individual members." He expands on this theme later: "It seems to me as unlikely that a socialist civilization will be fundamentally interested in what we call liberty as that a bourgeois civilization will be fundamentally interested in what its predecessors called piety."

Now, it is obvious that Heilbroner assumes that "liberty" is an unclean bour-

geois ideal (a form of "false consciousness") which has meant only freedom to maximize one's income or consumption of utilities. Otherwise his description of socialism would not read like a Soviet travel brochure. Having made this assumption, he quite logically rejects "liberty" in favor of a vaguely defined "collective moral purpose" which we may take to mean equality. Hence his brief for Leviathan.

So our question must be: is Heilbroner's assumption about the meaning of liberty valid? If it is valid, we have no choice but to agree with him and preach the end of "individuation" as the goal of socialism in the U.S. If it is not valid, we might still be able to envision and advocate a truly democratic modern society—a socialist society in which the condition of equality for all is the liberty of each.

The problem is not as simple as it seems. For insofar as we assume that socialism is the rightful heir to the "forces of production" that have developed within capitalism, we cannot treat the theory and practice of bourgeois liberty as if they were irrelevant to the question at hand. We cannot, for example, simply invent a "new" concept of liberty that ignores the presumptions and explanatory power of older concepts. To do so would be to repress and mutilate, not comprehend and give coherence to, the historically determined capacities and consciousness of the human species.

So our question must be more specific: is Heilbroner's assumption about the historical meaning of bourgeois lib-

erty valid?

It is certainly true that the modern liberal definition of liberty, which Heilbroner assumes is representative of the bourgeois ideal, amounts to freedom of contract. Liberty, in this view, is the historical product of the anonymous rationality and infinite adaptability—the "natural laws"—of a market in which legal claims on productive property are inviolable. Liberty is realized, therefore, only in civil society: it means freedom from civil obligations, political association and public power. Moreover, liberty and equality can never coexist peacefully in a modern industrial society: too much equality will destroy market incentives and thus the market itself.

The revolutionary bourgeoisie of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries had a different—and much broader—understanding of liberty and equality. To begin with, liberty was a "natural right" or ethical principle that, by definition, transcended the market. But it had a historically specific meaning as well. In "civilized communities"—in societies organized around commodity production and exchange—self-determination presupposed ownership of productive property, since only that enabled one to retain control of one's own labor power or human faculties. Hence the maintenance of liberty in "civilized communities" required an open and fully competitive market. Only such a market could underwrite social mobility by providing wage earners access to productive property, restrict the province of state power and enlarge the domain of personal freedom by reducing the need for government intervention in the economy, and enforce equality by subjecting all producers to the same laws of supply and demand. From this standpoint, the concentration of legal claims on productive property, as a result of the market's expansion and internal articulation, would destroy equality and endanger liberty, and therefore would signify the end of the market's usefulness.

What is more important for our purposes is that the revolutionary bourgeoisie found a promise of freedom from potentially despotic state power in an unfettered, even self-regulating civil society, and yet did not believe that liberty was or could be realized on that terrain. At least this was the presumption of American revolutionaries in the late 18th century. Their arguments for liberty were eminently political in the sense that they did not limit its meaning to specified civil rights that would protect the private happiness of individuals—liberty, in other words, was more than freedom from civil obligations, political association, and public power. The revolutionaries argued that liberty was as much effect as cause of participation in public affairs, that its real meaning consisted in the people's use

of public power for the sake of public happiness. They argued that individuals did not partake of liberty, and could not fully develop their human capacities, unless they shared in, and helped shape, the life of the community.

The handmaiden of liberty so conceived was "virtue," the willingness to recognize and meet one's civic obligations, as against one's private interests; but individuals could act virtuously only insofar as virtue was required of all citizens, or, to put it another way, only insofar as all citizens were responsible at some level of government for the exercise of public power. In this respect, the outlook of the American revolutionaries was akin to that of Gerrard Winstanley, the 17th-century millenarian socialist who insisted that "a man knows no more of righteousness than he hath power to act."

I don't mean to suggest that the legacy of the first American revolution is unambiguous: the modern liberal and the revolutionary bourgeois concepts of liberty have the same lineage, after all, if not the same political implications. Yet the differences between liberty as a share in public affairs for the sake of public happiness were, and are, real enough. The revolutionary meaning of liberty could not and did not endure because the accumulation of capital required the sublimation of politics. Once public power became the creature of civil society, the commonplace liberal notion of liberty emerged as the sole claimant to the legacy of the revolution, and Thomas Hobbes' brooding realism gave way to jolly slogans like "free to choose."

We may conclude, in any case, that Heilbroner's assumption about the historical meaning of bourgeois liberty is not valid. We may conclude further that a socialist society would be fundamentally interested in fulfilling the promise of the revolutionary bourgeois concept of liberty, which was inclusive enough to suppose that civil rights were the necessary but not the sufficient conditions of human freedom. Our problem for the time being, then, will be resurrecting that body of theory and practice that identifies liberty with civic obligations, political association, and the people's use of public power for the sake of public happiness. But the problem should not be as difficult here as it might prove elsewhere, since, as Hannah Arendt pointed out, this revolutionary notion has never altogether vanished from the American scene.

Of course, the problem cannot be addressed until it is defined as such. It will not be so long as the socialist left shares Robert Heilbroner's fear of liberty. ■ *James Livingston is an historian. He writes a monthly column for In These Times.*

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PERSPECTIVES

Citizen participation builds the Berkeley left

THE FOLLOWING SPEECH was given by Eugene "Gus" Newport, mayor of Berkeley, Calif., at a joint meeting of the New American Movement and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in Berkeley, March 14.

About a week ago, Bay Area newspapers reported the election of a socialist mayor in the town of Burlington, Vt. I made sure to read the article several times, as a partial antidote to the blitz of bad news from Reagan which surrounded it.

Particularly for those of us who are directly involved in local policies and politics, Reagan's election is beginning to sink in. The question in my mind is will the left be clever and disciplined enough to take advantage of his election?

I share the analysis that Reagan's victory can be attributed to the lack of vision and coherence on the part of the Democratic Party and the left. Voters were given only one set of answers to the questions they were asking.

Having made the choice to commit most of my political life to municipal politics, in a city that Reagan has, from time to time, chosen to view as his antithesis, this period forces us to do a great deal of reflection on our local level strategies.

What has worked, what hasn't? And what are the challenges, technically and politically, we are facing?

The right is not asleep at the local level either. In both Santa Monica and Berkeley, conservatives are moving towards this April's municipal elections dead set on using the Reagan offensive as a springboard to demolish the progressive beachhead in these two cities.

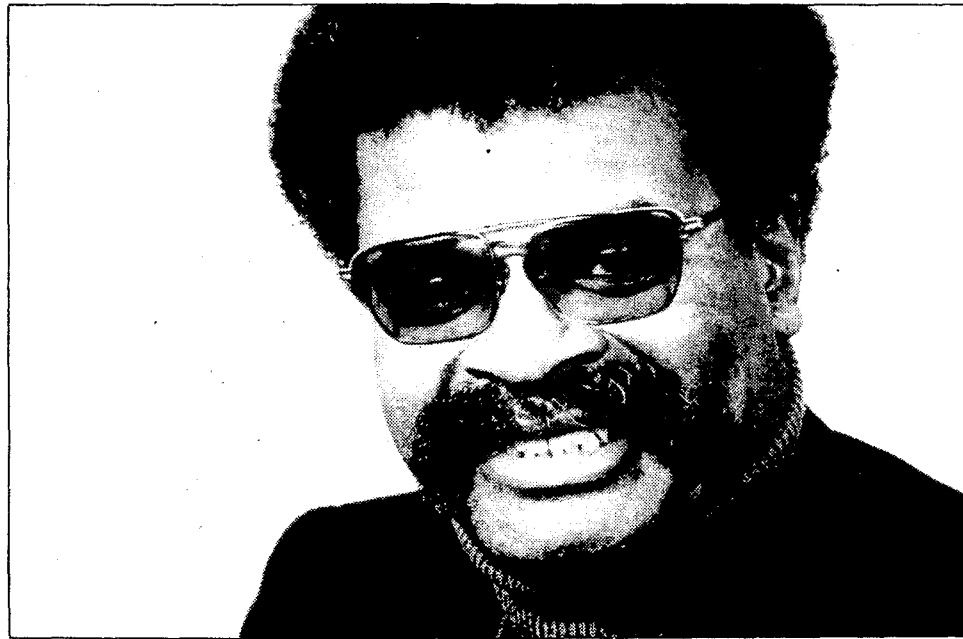
Let me make clear that in neither city have leftists yet won a majority of the city council. Despite this, we have been expected to deliver by our own constituencies, and will be tagged as being responsible for everything that has gone wrong no matter what its genesis, from litter in the streets to inflation in the housing market.

Since the election of four members out of nine, a minority on the Berkeley City Council, the issues we have faced have broken down into three main areas. Traditional municipal concerns such as police, fire and land use, long-range and symbolic issues such as South African divestment, and consumer protection ranging from smoking ordinances to rent and condominium controls.

Basically, there has been no issue that has not appeared before us in some form

during these two years. And it is important to remember that in each of these two years, we have been confronted with a budget that, due to inflation and Proposition 13, has been tighter and tighter.

This situation has forced some very difficult choices, particularly since many of the capital mechanisms available to cities have been throttled by a chaotic bond market.



Gus Newport, Berkeley's mayor, believes we should learn from the conservatives and adopt the long view.

Rent control, eviction control, condominium control and neighborhood preservation through limits on conversion of residential units to commercial purposes have been effective, but they are vulnerable, relying on strong city support to back them up. That's a major reason that our council race has again been targeted by landlords, and although tenants clearly support these efforts, and many homeowners have come to recognize their benefits as well, it is more difficult to activate continued support from these groups than might be thought. It requires continual education and organizing, whereas the landlords are seething and very well-organized. Just as they are moving to return to speculative returns on investment, tenants must be prepared to protect their investment in scarce, affordable housing.

The popular initiatives passed to divest city funds from institutions doing business with South Africa have been implemented. It is now possible to prove that a municipal government can achieve a high rate of return without such investments.

As we entered city hall in 1979, we faced a budget that had been stripped of

all general fund money for community agencies the year before. Coupled with this was a proposal from the carry-over city manager to decrease the police budget by cutting large numbers of patrol officers and eliminating the crime prevention, crimes against women, juvenile and foot patrol units.

This is, of course, an old trick. There are few police departments in the U.S. that haven't used such smoke-screens to insulate themselves from budget scrutiny.

Berkeley had already instituted a civilian police review board, with review authority for policy as well as complaints.

Later, backed up by a police institute management study, we were successful not only in retaining the four service-oriented specialty units in the department, but also in increased patrols by eliminating more than a dozen administrative positions.

We not only increased police services to the public, but were also able to restore much funding to the health and social

providing such services as part of the regular municipal service menu, with union labor contracts, benefits and institutionalization.

Lenny Goldberg, in a recent issue of *Working Papers*, notes that the left must begin to deal with the real challenges and opportunities inherent in the widespread antagonism toward bureaucracies. I recognize, having worked for the Department of Labor in job development, that not all programs are efficient or effective. In some cases, this is because they are underfunded, representing a few crumbs rather than an honest attempt to meet people's needs. But some are plainly ineffective. And community needs cannot often be well addressed from the banks of the Potomac 3,000 miles away.

With this in mind, how do we approach a decision posing a choice between city-run health clinics and community-run clinics? How are we to address the obvious conflict between support of organized labor and support for community control? Or between efficient delivery of services and protection of city workers?

Finally, what is our approach to raising capital? The bond market is a mess. Taxes are essentially frozen. To assist in housing development and in aiding local small business, we need new ideas about tapping the financial resources in our cities.

I think we have shown that the left is not a threat to the people of Berkeley. That's an important first step, and an idea that the conservatives will try in every way to disprove in the current election campaign.

And I think we have shown that there are significant parts of the progressive agenda that can work now, even under the intense political and economic pressure we are facing from Washington. Ideas that can be tried in nearly every city, issues that are ripe for coalition and for victory.

Citizen participation.

The central theme that has been responsible for nearly every success we've had is citizen participation. Designing ways for people to take a direct part in determining priorities, finding new answers, spelling out the problems. Berkeley has probably the most extensive system of citizen boards and commissions in California—more than 30 boards with nine members on each.

The amusing thing about citizen participation has been that significant numbers of commissioners appointed by the conservatives end up agreeing with our appointees after they start chewing on a problem. It's an ongoing educational campaign.

If we ever hope to win power on a wide scale, we have to begin training the administrators—and the candidates—who will get us there and keep us there. We need the experience of these commissions, constituency organizing, community coalitions, to build a solid reservoir of talent.

To go with this approach, it's about time we took a lesson from the conservatives dogged two-decade march to the White House. It was no fluke that they had a set of ideas, a vision, and a body of rhetoric in the last campaign. They had been developing it for two decades at think-tanks like the Hoover Institute, and kept refining it, kept pushing it, found ways to popularize it.

In reflecting on Mayor Sanders' victory in Burlington, it is interesting to note his platform: opposition to increased property taxes, opposition to a new freeway, recognition that the new deal is no longer new, and a pledge to bring the police department and the community closer together. On these issues he toppled the Democratic, not Republican, machine.

There is no reason to concede a single issue to the right. The left needs answers on crime and personal safety just as badly if not more crucially than George Duekmejian. It is their system of crime prevention and criminal justice that has failed, not ours. And it is sickening to watch conservatives being reflected on the basis of amplifying their failures on this and other issues.

agencies that had been eliminated by the prior council.

A final example comes in the energy field. It is here perhaps that we see the best blend of short and long-range strategies, and the best fit between social and economic objectives.

Simply put, by adopting a strong energy conservation ordinance, not only have we laid the groundwork for tremendous consumer and oil savings at the household level, but a market for nearly \$2 million dollars annually in retrofitting was created. A market that can be filled by small-scale, locally-owned, labor-intensive businesses.

Dilemmas.

Together with the successes, many hard-fought in themselves, come dilemmas for us as well. While it is relatively easy to put together a coalition of people who aren't getting what they want from local government, winning even a measure of control brings conflict and even competition within our coalition.

Both low-income tenants and neighborhood activists concerned with stopping institutional creep have supported left coalitions in cities across the country. We recognize the need for affordable new construction in housing, which at this time translates into densities higher than R-1.

But as we have recently seen in Oakland, this alliance begins to lose a little of its glue when new housing construction of multi-family units is proposed for a neighborhood that would like to preserve its low density. Resolving this tension is a primary challenge for a left concerned with both the quality of life and affordable housing.

As funding grows even scarcer this year, another political dilemma comes into focus. There have been tremendous advantages to the leveraging that takes place by funding community agencies and non-profit neighborhood organizations to perform housing, counseling, health and other services.

But these community-based groups tend to pay low wages and rely heavily on volunteerism. And in some cases they have developed because a municipality could not afford, or would not consider,

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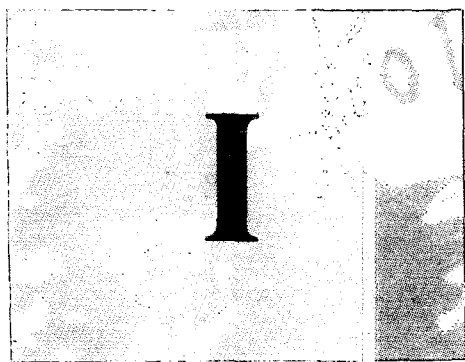
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DIALOG

Did In These Times blame Jews for anti-Semitism?



By Morris U. Schappes

FROM YOUR EDITORIAL, "Anti-Semitism and the left" (ITT, March 4), I infer the following: there is anti-Semitism on the left because the Jews did this, the Jews did that, Israel did something else, and the Jews are this or that. Therefore there is anti-Semitism. Easy: blame the victim! Let the Jews stop doing this, or that, let Israel change, let Jews stop being this or that, and we "on the left" will cease our "left"-anti-Semitism. We "on the left" don't have any responsibility to fight anti-Semitism (on the right or left); all we need to do is keep score on what the Jews do, and every few years *In These Times* tells the Jews (and Israel) what's wrong with them that causes anti-Semitism.

Of course we "on the left" did not blame the Italians in the U.S. when most of them supported Mussolini—there was no wave of anti-Italianism in the U.S. during Mussolini's fascist rule. And we "on the left" didn't dream of blaming blacks for Idi Amin's rule—or Chileans in the U.S. for Pinochet. But that's different. Or is it?

So why are Jews squawking so much about anti-Semitism anyway? "In the pecking order of ethnic oppression in the United States, Jews are on the order of Poles, Italians and other East European national groups, subject to similar ethnic slurs and random discrimination," says the editorial. Even if it were so (and it is both false perception and shallow theory to see the Jews in the U.S. as simply "just another" East European national group), do *In These Times* and others on the left have a responsibility to combat such "ethnic slurs and random discrimination"? Or do we "on the left" leave such defenses to the ethnics themselves: Jews defend Jews, Italians defend Italians, Poles defend Poles, Chicanos defend Chicanos, Puerto Ricans defend Puerto Ricans, blacks defend blacks, etc. I seem to remember from those maligned '30s that it was the duty of white left-wingers to defend blacks against white racism, of non-Jews to defend Jews against anti-Semitism—and not to leave it to ethnics alone to defend themselves.

There are too many misperceptions and misstatements in the editorial about Jews in the U.S. and the situation in Israel for me even to list them, but I do want to put in perspective your emphasis on what is glibly called the "drift to the right" among U.S. Jews. On the basis of available polls so far (by CBS/Times and generally substantiated by ABC), the Jews in the last national election gave Reagan only 39 percent of their votes, while 47 percent voted for Carter and 16 percent for Anderson. In other words, the majority of Jews did not vote for Reagan but against him. Had the country as a whole voted the way the Jews did, Reagan would now be a has-been instead of a menace. Only the black and

Hispanic votes for Reagan were smaller than the Jewish vote: 14 percent and 36 percent for Reagan respectively. If you want to record a real swing to the right, look at the Catholic vote: 51 percent for Reagan. Are we "on the left" now to disregard anti-Catholicism because we don't like the way the Catholics voted?

One basic flaw in your whole approach to the subject of your editorial is that you do not distinguish between anti-Semitism and criticism of Jews, while in fact there is a fundamental distinction between them. Jews, like all other ethnic groups, states, nations, peoples, societies, systems, are subject to criticism for what they do. If some Jewish organizations (not all) have a reactionary position on affirmative action, criticize them for that position. But anti-Semitism is not criticism of Jews' actions. Anti-Semitism is a method for shifting the blame for social evils from those who are responsible for them to the Jews, who are not responsible for them. Anti-Semitism is a diversionary tactic to prevent aggrieved people from really solving their problems by misleading them to blame and attack the Jews. Can you name a single social evil that would be solved if all the Jews were to disappear, or be slaughtered, as Hitler almost succeeded in doing?

So I still want to know what *In These Times*' position is on anti-Semitism, on the right, left, center, in first, second, third and all worlds. Are you against anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union? Then say so, and report frequently on the continuing and multiplying evidence of it in Soviet publications. Are you against anti-Semitism in the third world? Then say so and expose it, and help the third world see the folly of trying to achieve noble ends by ignoble means. Are you against anti-Semitism in the U.S., not only among the KKK and neo-Nazis but in the innumerable far from harmless ways in which it reveals itself in social, cultural, economic and political life? Then say so without blaming the Jews for it. To concentrate on criticizing the Jews without actively fighting anti-Semitism is to confound confusion on an issue on which clarity is needed in the fight-back against Reagan-reaction and all other reaction.

Morris U. Schappes is the editor of *Jewish Currents*.



By Jonathan Shevin

ONE OF THE SCARIER things for me, as a Jew on the left, is being patronized by other leftists on the subject of anti-Semitism. I'm not usually the one to bring it up; they are. Like "Anti-Semitism and the left" (ITT, March 4).

Your editorial implies that, except for right-wing crazies who always hate the Jews (so let's not worry about them, because what can you do?), Jews are the

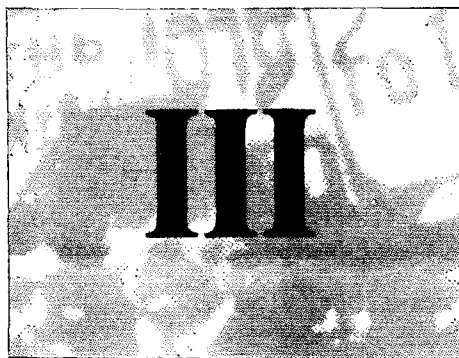
cause of anti-Semitism. "How can this be?" the sensible leftist might ask. See, the Jews used to be leftists, but now they're not. (We're supposed to believe that there wasn't anti-Semitism on the left in the good old days.) Jews aren't leftists because they won't try hard enough to make Israel create a Palestine. That's why anti-Semitism is coming back. At least that's the only explanation your editorial gives us.

Will trivializing anti-Semitism make it go away? Are you excusing the criminal by blaming the victim? Are we still that naive? OK, Jews, join left-wing organizations and save your asses. And we jump; we're so damned used to jumping. If we can only be what they want us to be, maybe they won't hate us so much.

"Jews are on the order of Poles, Italians and other Eastern European national groups, subject to similar ethnic slurs and random discrimination." So, where is the editorial calling on Polish-Americans to support Solidarity or face a wave of anti-Polish incidents. And when will you print the editorial calling on Italian-Americans to support progressive forces in Italy or be considered responsible for the image of Italians in the media and elsewhere.

Face it, anti-Semitism is not a response to a single issue. It is a deep-rooted, pervasive, horrific aspect of our culture. Your editorial takes it so lightly that you call on Israel to accommodate without even condemning anti-Semitism, supposedly the topic of the editorial. And then you tell us what organizations we should join. Thanks. You have isolated concerned Jews from the rest of the left. And as any leftist knows, a group is easily victimized once it is isolated.

Jonathan Shevin is an *In These Times* subscriber in New York.



By Donny Perlstein

IT HAS BEEN VERY ENCOURAGING lately to find ongoing coverage of questions dealing with Jews and anti-Semitism, but your recent editorial "Anti-Semitism and the left" (ITT, March 4) left much unsaid and contained a few flaws worthy of comment.

By describing the oppression of Jews in the U.S. as merely part of "the pecking order of ethnic oppression," which manifests itself in "ethnic slurs and random discrimination," you make the common error of failing to distinguish between individual random acts of discrimination and stereotyping against Jews and the underlying oppression that continues as a world-wide social phenomenon with long historical roots embedded in an economic-political base.

Most disturbing about your editorial was the absence of a serious attempt to analyze the oppression of Jews in a framework that takes into account the actual historical conditions and political economy of the Jewish community.

Your statement: "Jews have been integrated at all levels of society and in all its institutions," is misleading. Arthur Liebman's recent book, *Jews and the Left*, documents the occupational distinctiveness of American Jews, the systematic exclusion of Jews from the corporate elite, and the resultant vulnerability of Jews in a capitalist society facing major crisis.

The fact that a disproportionate number of Jews have risen into the professional-managerial sphere, for example, actually turns into a major liability for Jews in relation to other minorities who are forced to compete with Jews for a dwindling portion of the pie. The disagreements between some Jewish organizations and the other minority communities over the question of affirma-

tive action quotas does more, I think, to explain the "wedge" between Jews and other minorities in the U.S. than the more recent tension over support by some black leaders and others for Palestinian self-determination.

Your failure to emphasize the crucial distinction between Jews, the organized Jewish community and the Jewish organizational leadership is also a major error. The fact is, a majority of Jews are not affiliated with any Jewish organization and it is highly questionable whether the leaderships of the major Jewish organizations actually represent the views of their own constituencies.

While it is certainly true that the defense by the established Jewish organizations of the short-sighted and oppressive policies of the Israeli government has contributed toward the erosion of identification of many Jews from liberal and progressive causes, it would be a mistake to exaggerate the rightward drift of American Jews as a whole.

A recent (still unpublished) Harris poll, initiated by Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, reports that when asked if there must be a way to guarantee Israel's security and also give Palestinians an independent state in the West Bank, 59 percent of the Jews (compared to 72 percent of the total public) agreed. Other questions revealed, however, the deep fears of the large majority of Jews that such a state would threaten the existence of Israel, thus confirming that these fears are a major factor in Jewish reluctance to support Palestinian self-determination.

Israel today finds itself in the classic situation of the Jewish minority except on a world-wide scale. Its government, visibly oppressing the Palestinian people and reliant on the U.S. for the very survival of the country as a whole, is complicit in isolating the Israeli people from their natural allies, the oppressed Arabs and other third world peoples throughout the Middle East and elsewhere.

The non-aligned movement is correct: Israel is a pawn and a tool of Western imperialism; but what is never mentioned is that this situation arose, in large part, because of the history of anti-Semitism and continues as a key feature of the national oppression of the Israeli people who the movement should be seeking to embrace.

If the left really took anti-Semitism as a serious factor in Jewish history we would insist that the non-aligned movement take responsibility for its own role in perpetuating the Arab-Israeli conflict since seeking to attack or isolate Israel only reinforces the fears of the Israelis, thus leading them to turn away from seeking accommodation with their Arab cousins. It convinces them to support the election of a reactionary government and undermines efforts by the Israeli left. It also reinforces the pressure on the Israeli government to align itself with reactionary regimes like South Africa or to be unduly under the influence of foreign imperialist governments like the U.S.

New Jewish Agenda will, I hope, be able to articulate a progressive program attractive both to the large numbers of disaffected American Jews still firmly committed to progressive Jewish traditions and social justice concerns as well as to the growing number of heretofore unaffiliated Jewish leftists, feminists and others who have begun to understand that the articulation and development of a world-wide Jewish liberation program and movement is a key task for the '80s.

As a founding member of New Jewish Agenda and as someone who has been active in Jewish progressive affairs for the past several years, I am gladdened by your recognition and support for those Jewish forces in Israel and here in the U.S. that are committed to winning over the Jewish people everywhere toward policies that will nourish an alliance between Jews and other oppressed groups and progressive movements and that will put an end to Jews colluding in their own oppression.

Donny Perlstein is editor of *genesis 2*, "an independent voice for Jewish renewal" published in Boston.

Right

Continued from page 3

paigns for national offices. The other races were decided largely on the basis of party identification rather than platform. "People don't know who their local officials are," Dolan said. "Until you have the most important fact—party identification—you're not going to have movement."

Finkelstein took the argument a step further. The new right wanted to elect Republican senators and representatives who, by enhancing the visibility of the Republican Party, would lead voters to support Republicans in other races. Republican identity was therefore crucial to the right's success. "That's why, my friend," Finkelstein said to the Baltimore conservative, "you should leave the Democratic Party and join the Republican Party."

In other words, both old and new right are now focused on making the Republicans a majority party. And they also now recognize that their success or failure will rest on the administration's fortunes. "We will see a new coalition formed in 1982 or 1984 based on one thing—the success of Ronald Reagan," Dolan said.

Doing away with Castro.

Some 600 conservatives paid \$125 to attend the conference. There was a goodly share of eccentrics, including a self-proclaimed born-again Christian who argued for abortion rights on the basis that during pregnancy magnetic force fields, which accompany life, surround the mother but not the fetus. Many had worked on the Reagan campaign, and while they shared the speakers' enthusiasm about the president, they were generally to the administration's right.

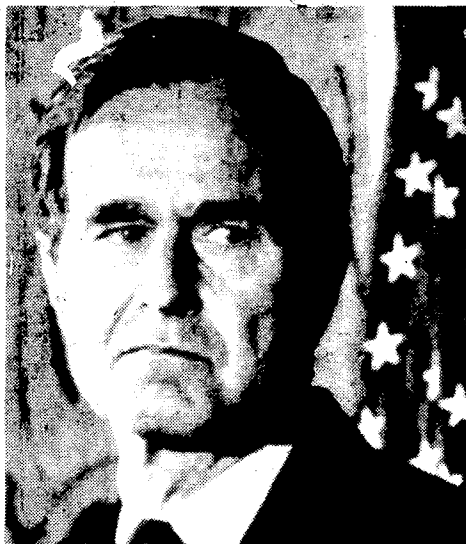
On economic issues, they generally agreed with Orange County Representative Robert Danmeyer, who argued in a panel on "Economic Recovery" that the administration should use its "political capital" to propose the \$90 billion in cuts necessary to balance the budget. They also agreed with right-to-work champion Reed Larson when he suggested to new Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan that he extend the Hobbs Act's prohibition on restraint of trade for extortion to strikes by labor unions. (Donovan politely dodged the issue.)

On foreign policy, the differences were evident during the speeches by Richard Allen and Jeane Kirkpatrick. Allen warned "that outright pacifist sentiments are surfacing abroad" among America's NATO allies. He counselled Europe to follow the path of "social discipline" and "defense modernization" begun by the Reagan administration.

During the question period, however, he had to defend the administration's position against conservatives who wanted immediately to normalize relations with "our esteemed ally" South Africa, oppose the Duarte government in El Salvador for its reforms that "go against our economic philosophy," and "do away

with [Cuban President Fidel] Castro altogether."

Kirkpatrick ran into the same horns' nest. In a panel on "The Role of the U.S. in Latin America," she had to respond to representatives of El Salvador and Guatemala as well as conference participants who shared their sentiments. Kirkpatrick made a clear attempt to show that social conditions had nothing to do with the El Salvador civil war. She acknowledged that Salvadorans were ruled by a "small oligarchy" and that they were predominantly "ill-housed and ill-nourished." But ignoring past rebellions, she argued that since these conditions had prevailed "throughout their history," they could not explain the current civil war. "Revolutions are not caused by social injustice," Kirkpatrick said. "They are caused by revolutionaries."



"Old" rightist George Bush

But the speakers contested Kirkpatrick's views. Guatemalan university president Manuel Ayau, speaking of his own dictatorship as well as that in El Salvador, declared that "we were doing fine until the revolutionaries." San Salvador newspaper publisher Enrique Altamirano explained that El Salvador had not been ruled by an oligarchy but by "populist governments that tried all sorts of socialistic measures." He blamed the Carter administration for fomenting a "Zapata-style insurrection in El Salvador."

"I find it very peculiar that this country is moving toward a market economy and on the other hand the administration is continuing its support to the social and economic reforms pushed by the Carter administration," Altamirano said.

"It is impossible to reconstruct society in the middle of a civil war," Kirkpatrick said in response. "The most pressing problem in El Salvador is an externally supported military campaign. If we help them with the military campaign, then El Salvador will be able to solve its own problems."

The panel on "Rebuilding America's Military Preparedness," which didn't include any Reagan people, was the most clearly to the right of the administration. General Daniel Graham, the former head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, was a Reagan advisor, but has not been appointed to the administration. In his address, he suggested that the administration, influenced by "my friends at the Committee on the Present Danger," was

concerning itself with more spending but not with a new strategy. What was needed, Graham argued, was a new strategy of "peace through strength."

The focus of such a strategy should be outer space. "The U.S. is going to have to seize military control of outer space," Graham asserted. "A fleet of space cruisers could perform any military functions including the defense of the U.S. But to go ahead with them, we have to get rid of this doctrine of mutually assured destruction."

Graham's seemingly half-cocked proposal was warmly endorsed by another panelist, science fiction writer Jerry Pournelle. "Space is a nice place to have a war," Pournelle said, "because there isn't anything up there."

Toward 1984.

Befitting the exhilaration over a victory that is still only several months old, there was little discussion of the 1984 elections among the participants. Speakers referred repeatedly to "Governor Reagan" and in one case even to "President Bush"—an indication that they still hadn't absorbed the change of administration.

Most conservative leaders said they believed that the Reagan economic program would work, but they were worried that Congress would adopt only part of it. "I have no doubt the program would work if enacted," ACU chair Edwards said. "But let's say taxes are cut 30 percent and only a part of the spending cuts are enacted. Then there would be a problem. The program won't work unless it is a package."

But a few activists were thinking ahead. One organizer for a major right-wing evangelical group was fearful that the Reagan program would not restore price stability and employment. "If the economic program doesn't work," he said, "it's the social issues that are going to keep Reagan or his successor in office. If a guy is out of a job, he's going to have trouble voting for Reagan, but if he's against abortion, and the Democrat is for it, then he might stick with him."

Another conservative, a young Naval officer who planned to leave the Navy



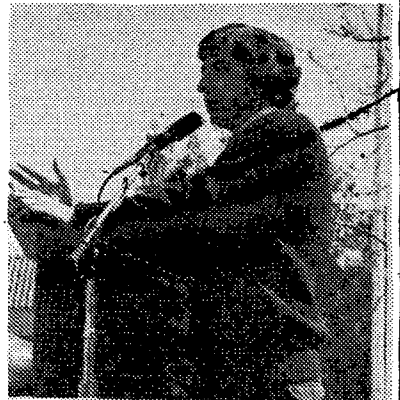
"New" rightist Jeane Kirkpatrick

for a career in computers, was also worried. "The program could fail, and if it does, I don't know what will happen," he said. "The country could just continue to decline, and we could try to solve our problems through war mobilization. Outside of what Reagan's doing, I don't know anything but war mobilization that could work."

War mobilization, Christian crusades, space wars: these proposals presently lie to the right of the Reagan administration, but not to the right of his active base. And among his supporters, there are those who argue that on these issues, just as on the Equal Rights Amendment, Reagan will eventually come around to their way of thinking, if only because he will have no other rallying point when his economic programs fail.

BEYOND REAGAN...

A call for a new governing coalition to meet the threat from Reagan's corporate government



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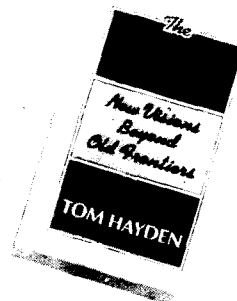
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HISTORY

About our racial problem—and theirs

White Supremacy

By George M. Fredrickson
Oxford Press, 287 pp., \$19.95

By Bill Martin

Few historians would have the audacity to attempt the task George M. Fredrickson sets himself in *White Supremacy*: a comparison of the history of white domination in the United States and South Africa. What can America's movement from slavery to civil rights have in common with the development of *apartheid* in South Africa?

Fredrickson defines "white supremacy" as "the attitudes, ideologies, and policies associated with the rise of blatant forms of white or European domination over 'nonwhite' populations." This is not to be confused with "racism," a term we are told is "too ambiguous and loaded a word" while white supremacy "is relatively neutral." In his search for the origins of white supremacy Fredrickson seeks to isolate and then compare the central periods and processes that established white privilege and domination in both countries.

Both the English settlement of North America and the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century led to the dispossession of the indigenous inhabitants. But while the American settlements displaced the indigenes in the course of their expansion, in South Africa, African labor as well as land was highly prized by white settlers. This was a crucial difference, and Fredrickson correctly points to the ideological differences that this entailed. The settlement at the Cape became dependent upon slaves in the course of the 18th century, although no plantation society similar to the U.S. South ever emerged. With the Cape serving as a way station on the sea-route to the East Indies, the Dutch never sought to establish a permanent settlement. One result of these early patterns, Fredrickson tells us, was the relatively more permissive attitude among Cape settlers toward intermarriage. In comparison to an early and rigid dichotomy between white and black in the U.S., rigid racial barriers emerged only in the course of the 19th century in the Cape, and then left the legacy of a mixed racial group, the so-called "Cape coloureds."

Divergent paths.

When Fredrickson turns to the late 19th and early 20th century, his comparative undertaking begins to unravel, due to an ever greater divergence between the U.S. South and South Africa. A comparison between the United States' and South Africa's struggles for independence from Britain and subsequent constitutional developments brings this out most clearly. It is true, for example, that white settlers in both areas fought Britain, but the Afrikaners' struggle took place in the distant and quite different

economic and ideological context of the early 20th century. And the unification of the Afrikaner Republics and the British colonies that came to form the Union of South Africa in 1910 only served to entrench the disfranchisement of South Africa's black majority. Moreover, the leading architects of segregation in South Africa at the time carefully examined the U.S. South (as did their opponents, which Fredrickson surprisingly fails to document in any detail), with an eye towards avoiding what was perceived as excessive liberties granted blacks in the U.S.

In searching for the source of these increasingly divergent paths of white supremacy, Fredrickson turns to the history of black labor in the two countries, although he fails to compare rural



Blacks in the U.S. (above, New York servants) and South Africa (below, Johannesburg train entrance) have a different labor history.



al patterns that were perhaps most similar. He discounts any notion that industrial capitalism can be held accountable for the entrenchment of racism in either country and holds that attitudes developed in the pre-industrial period were of central and continuing importance. Nevertheless, the fate of black industrial labor in the two countries is not at all similar: blacks in South Africa have always formed the majority of the industrial working class, while in the U.S. industrial development in the North proceeded apace on the basis of white immigrants. Indeed, *apartheid's* central logic has been to maintain a cheap labor force through the legal segregation of occupations, residency and movement, while petty *apartheid*—the segregation of public facilities, transport or what most Americans associate with segregation—remains incidental to the grand designs of white domination. In a brief concluding section Fredrickson argues that the differences between segregation in the U.S. and South Africa "are of such a degree to cast doubt on the value of a detailed comparison of the unequal treatment of southern blacks during the Jim Crow era and the lot of Africans under segregation or *apartheid* since 1910," although he does draw distinct parallels between American blacks' fate in this

period and that of the "Cape coloureds" under *apartheid*.

Serving different masters.

This conclusion vitiates the book's aim. Little sustained comparison of the structure and

policy of white domination is possible from 1976 onward. When one seeks the political and economic foundations of white supremacy, some basis of comparability is necessary, and this Fredrickson fails to establish in any depth—perhaps because the book focuses largely on the ideological expressions of white supremacy.

Apartheid developed in a colonial context where a small group of white settlers was able to promote industrialization by using state power to assure a cheap labor force. Equality before the law and universal voting rights could not be envisaged without an overthrow of the South African government—something well recognized by both the regime and the liberation movement. Segregation's different course in the U.S. must be set against the creation, through the Civil War, of a truly national society. This meant not only emancipating blacks but

establishing a formal democratic system, which rested upon racial discrimination. One can really only compare the U.S. with South Africa prior to the Civil War. To argue, as Fredrickson does, that the later development of *apartheid* was predicated upon earlier racial attitudes runs counter to his own acknowledgement that *apartheid* went hand in hand with a marked transformation of the economic and political nature of white domination in South Africa.

Because capitalist development in South Africa and the U.S. has differed widely, white supremacy in South Africa and the U.S. has served different masters. The differences of *apartheid* are a matter of kind and not simply degree. ■

Bill Martin, a research associate of the Fernand Braudel Center in Binghamton, N.Y., recently returned from South Africa.

NOTEBOOK

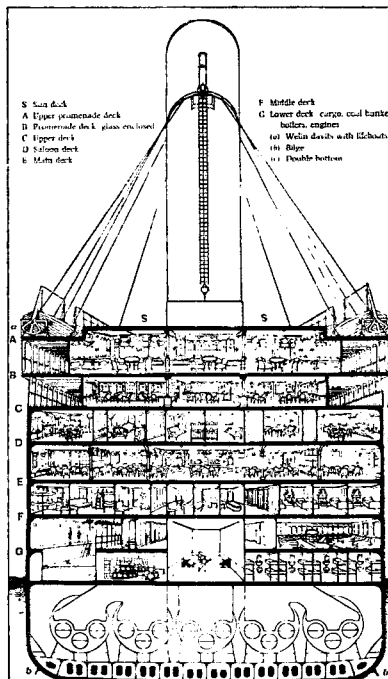
The Sinking of the Titanic

By Hans Magnus

Enzensberger

Houghton Mifflin, \$5.95

Enzensberger is a West German poet and essayist writing in the tradition of Brecht and Benjamin. His new, highly inventive epic poem sees the luxury liner *Titanic* as Western society in miniature. The ship's sinking is treated as one small apocalypse in a succession still incomplete. With self-critical humor, Enzensberger includes in his poem the history of its writing, which began in Havana in 1969 and ended years later in Berlin, after much procrastination. He wittily suggests his own portrayal of disaster is like that of a Medieval artist who completes a painting of Doomsday and then carouses



A cross-section of the TITANIC.

"for a brief moment, un-mindfully merry, as if his life had been spared." JS

Bargaining for Equality

By The Women's Labor Project, National Labor Law Center, Suite 612, 2000 P St., NW, Washington, DC 20036, 144 pp., \$4.50 or \$5 ppd.

Produced by a group within the National Lawyers Guild, this attractive book combines legal expertise, simple writing and a common sense approach to produce an excellent and accessible guide to labor law for working women. Covering topics ranging from affirmative action to childcare, from sexual harassment to pension plans, *Bargaining* is particularly strong on trade union organization and on ways to "help unions fight for women." A glossary and a list of organizations providing resources to working women conclude the book on a practical note. DRR

Contributors: David Roediger, Joel Schechter.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

POLISH FILM

Socialist growing pains

By Geoffrey Fox

The making of the Polish working class has been an uneven, disruptive and occasionally violent process, made especially intense by the rapidity of the socialist construction that transformed war-devastated Poland into the eleventh industrial nation in the world. Certain traumatic episodes in this growth have been repressed from the official memory, but Andrzej Wajda insists on bringing them to the conscious level.

In *Man of Marble* he does this through the character of Agnieszka, a young filmmaker determined to uncover the hidden events of her parents' generation. As Agnieszka assembles material for her diploma film, the story of a worker of the '50s is interwoven with her own struggles against subtle and blatant censorship in the more prosperous '70s.

Wajda has an international reputation as both stage and screen director, but few of his more than 30 films are well-known in this country. An exception is *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958), a sensitive study of an anti-Communist terrorist in the late '40s. In both films Wajda develops characterization through the revealing detail. In *Man of Marble* stiff postures, short haircuts and heroic orchestras caricature the '50s, flowing motions, sideburns and rock characterize the '70s.

The "man of marble" is Mateusz Birkut, whose marble statue Agnieszka discovers locked in museum storeroom with other embarrassing relics. Birkut is a pure type, meant to show the imperfections of the world he lived in. Perhaps this is why Agnieszka never finds him, except in the statue, film clips, and memories of his contemporaries.

A simple and enthusiastic young bricklayer, Birkut is picked out to star in a film about the construction of Nowa Huta, the city that is as much a symbol of the '50s as the Lenin Shipyards are of 1970 and 1980. Wajda here lampoons the "socialist emulation" productivity contests

modeled on the Soviet "Stakhanovite" movement. Birkut and his carefully selected crew are rehearsed, stuffed for days with extra proteins, especially barbered and posed, and then in eight grueling hours lay the unprecedented (and ridiculous) number of 30,509 bricks before camera, spectators and the local band. Birkut simply hopes to speed up production of much-needed housing. The young filmmaker Burski and the construction chief share that goal, but they are also trying to advance their careers.

Birkut delights in his sudden fame, posing for sculptor and photographers and exhorting other trade union delegates to greater production. He believes his own myth. But the idyll ends when, in one of his rural demonstrations of the accelerated brick-laying system, he is sabotaged—someone hands him a hot brick, crippling his hands. Other workers see "Stakhanovism" as simple speed-up.

Birkut now channels his socialist zeal into the defense of workers against officialdom—the former love him, the latter would like to be rid of him. When he rushes to the defense of his worldly work-mate Witek, falsely accused of the sabotage, the bureaucracy closes in. After a farcical sequence in which Birkut careens through the streets with a Gypsy band and finally "returns" a Nowa Huta brick through the glass door of police headquarters, he is tried, condemned and disgraced. His statue and portraits are removed from public display and he is imprisoned until the workers' revolt of 1956, which gives amnesty to the victims of past "errors and distortions."

The other story.

But there is another story here, that of Agnieszka. She is as persistent as Birkut in her struggles against officials who don't want the memories of the '50s stirred up. And there are the vignettes of Agnieszka's interviews with Birkut's old acquaintances: the oily security officer who now produces strip-tease shows in Warsaw's Palace of Culture; the

construction chief, who wants to rebuild Cracow in the neat rectangles of Nowa Huta; the ex-bricklayer Witek, now a captain of industry who consents to be interviewed in his helicopter; Birkut's ex-wife, in a performance worthy of Shelly Winters, breaking down into alcoholic blather when she is forced to recall her desertion and denunciation of Birkut in his hour of disgrace; and the now-celebrated filmmaker Burski, living in suburban splendor—when not jetting around Europe—and a little concerned that Agnieszka will think he has sold out. Burski is a self-caricature of Wajda, who in 1950 was assistant director of an actual documentary on Nowa Huta.

But Agnieszka does not find Birkut. In fact, her camera is taken from her by her producer—he had warned her to stay away from classified material, and here she was, stirring up trouble about the '50s and making a hopeless film about somebody she hadn't even been able to locate.



Other workers saw the bricklayer's heroic feats as a speed-up.

She does find Birkut's son, who (almost inevitably, given the film's mythic pretensions) is a worker in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. He tells her that his father is dead.

The final scene has Agnieszka walking triumphantly through the film institute corridors with son of Birkut. But what happened to Birkut? If he really died, how? And will Agnieszka be allowed to complete her film? Did Polish censors lop off a particularly mordant ending—Wajda himself is not explicit about this—or is this a failure of art?

Except for the mess of an ending, the film is a technical masterpiece. Thematically, it is a morality play with two heroes: the enraged innocent of the '50s,

Mateusz Birkut, and the forceful sophisticate of the '70s, Agnieszka. What they have in common is that they alone, of all the movie's characters, are uncompromising.

Perhaps a morality play "works" in Poland because there the working class is still protesting the hierarchy, routine and separation of manual from intellectual labor that are more securely institutionalized in older industrial states. Growing up socialist has meant that the working class' self-awareness could only take the form of opposition to Party and State leadership (as in 1956, 1970, 1976). A main theme of the workers' current demands is that the leaders live

Continued on facing page

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

CHICAGO, IL

April 2

The Second City Socialist School of the New American Movement presents a forum with Carl Marzani. "Prospects and Problems of Italian Euro-communism; the dialogue between the Church and Italian social movements." Thursday, at Schmidt Academic Center, Room 192, De Paul University, 2323 N. Seminary Ave. Admission is \$2.00.

April 3

Manning Marable, a founder of the National Black Independent Political Party and author-activist, will speak on "Reaganism, Racism, and Reaction" at the Augustana Lutheran Church, 5500 S. Woodlawn Blvd., at 7:30 p.m. Donation \$2. Sponsored by the Chicago Chapters of the New American Movement. For more information, call: (312) 871-7700.

April 4

There will be a benefit brunch for the Atlanta Committee to Stop Childrens Murder at the Cross Currents Cultural Center, 3206 N. Wilton. Camille Bell and Venus Taylor from Atlanta will be introduced by Rev. Al Sampson. Saturday from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Donation at the door. Sponsored by the Citizens Party of Illinois, National Lawyers Guild, New World Resource Center, Chicago Northside New American Movement. For more information, call: (312) 431-0082.

April 4

"Psychic Politics & Social Change"—A conference to explore the relationship between politics and paranormal phenomena, mysticism and spirituality.

Topics to include psychic technologies, Left ideology, ecology, Islam, and the Christian New Right. Crosscurrents Cultural Center, 3206 N. Wilton (next to Belmont L stop), 10 a.m.-6 p.m. \$3.00 (lunch incl.) 761-5384.

April 4

Carl Marzani will discuss and autograph his new book, "The Promise of Eurocommunism," at Guild Books and Periodicals, 1118 W. Armitage Ave., from 1-4 p.m. Call (312) 752-1794 for additional information.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 4

The Congressional Black Caucus and the Martin Luther King Jr. Center for Social Change will sponsor a convocation on the politics and ideas of Dr. King and their relevance for the 1980s. Three seminars will be held that reflect the major areas of concern of the Congressional Black Caucus. The first will be on Dr. King, full employment and economic justice. At the Rayburn House Office Building, in the Gold Room at 10:30 a.m. The second will concern Dr. King, civil and human rights. At Howard University at 10:30 a.m. The third will focus on Dr. King, foreign affairs and world peace. At the Institute for Policy Studies at 10:30 a.m.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

April 6

Carl Marzani will speak on "The Promise of Euro-Communism" at the West Bank of the University of Minnesota at 8:00 p.m. Check for details on University bulletin boards.

REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN

April 9

Carl Marzani will discuss "The Promise of Euro-Communism" at the Regina Trade Union Center, 2709 12th Ave., at 8:00 p.m. For additional information, call: (306) 352-9289.

SEATTLE, WA

April 11

Come to a fundraising party for In These Times. Music, dancing, refreshments and conversation. At PRAG House, 747 16th E., from 7:30 to midnight. Tickets are \$2.00. Call 634-2856 for more information.

SAN FRANCISCO AREA

Help Berkeley Citizen's Action (BCA) candidates win. Socialist mobilization on **March 21** for Voter Registration (meet at Socialist School, 6025 Shattuck Ave., Oakland, at 10:00 a.m.) **April 4** for San Francisco Day (meet at 3738 20th St., San Francisco at 9:00 a.m.) **April 11** for a Literature drop (meet at the BSA Office, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley at 10:00 a.m.). If you can phone, canvass, or contribute, want more information or a ride, call: Kerry Tremain at (415) 441-5466 (days) or 826-9178 (eves.).

NEW YORK, NY

April 7

Robert Heilbroner, Norman Thomas Professor of Economics at the New School for Social Research, will speak on "Reagan, Inflation and the Socialist Response." Tuesday at Meier Hall, New York University, 2 Washington Square Place at 7:30 p.m. Admission is \$3.00. Sponsored by the School for Democratic Socialism, 125 W. 72nd St., NYC 10023, (212) 787-1691.

April 13

Come to a Tribute/Roast for Jack Newfield, "the conscience of New York." Music by Harry Chapin and Tom Paxton. Join Michael Harrington, Ruth Messinger, Moe Foner, Joe Conason and the mystery "Rogue Roaster" at the Village Gate, 189 Thompson St., from 8-10:30 p.m. There will be wine, beer, cheese and fruit. Tickets are \$25.00. For reservations and more information, contact New York DSOC, 125 W. 72nd St., NYC 10023, (212) 787-1691.

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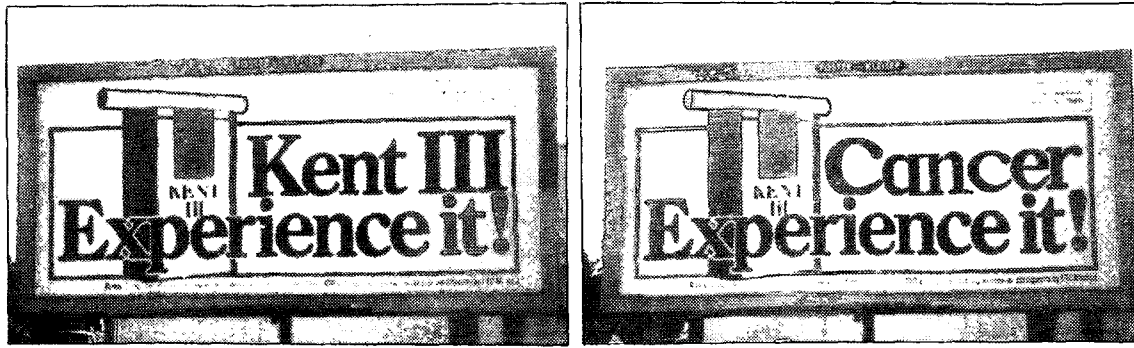
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Continued from facing page up to their own professed socialist ideals. Workers strike not only over meat prices and free Saturdays, but also official corruption, censorship, wage differentials and the boat-hunting privileges of Party leaders.

Man of Marble drew huge crowds when it opened in Poland in 1977. Its release here gives Americans an opportunity to glimpse some of the background of the current strikes, as well as to see a masterful satire.

New Yorker Films distributes *Man of Marble*.

BILLBOARDS



Thanks to reader Robert Stayton in Santa Cruz. Seen any good ones lately? Send them in!

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JUVENILE JUSTICE Mediation Program staff position—act as a liaison to juvenile justice system, develop and work with volunteer youth advocates; do case intake and follow-up; conduct research on youth crime. **FLUENCY IN SPANISH.** Low pay. Contact: Washington Heights-Inwood Coalition, 21 Binnett Ave., NYC 10033.

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PUBLICATIONS

49 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS. \$3.00. Discovery, Box 20331-ITT, WVC, Utah 84120.

CHASTISEMENT OF CHASE BANK (Reply to the Reagan monomania) by Abram Eiserman. "Excellent! I liked every word." John Kenneth Galbraith. "I liked your chasing, too" Anthony Lewis. For copies, send \$1.00 to A.E., 234 E. 48, Savannah, GA 31405.

KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMATION: 625 Post #888A, SF, CA 94109.

THE MYTH OF A "REAGAN MAN-DATE." Areas of Concern (February), Box 47, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010. Free sample (mention ITT).

HOW TO decode Western press. NEWS FROM TURKEY. Subscription: \$5.00. GPO Box 2922, Brooklyn, NY 11202.

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THE TRUTH GETS THROUGH

Saxophonists Charlie Parker and John Coltrane were stylists who revolutionized jazz music, making it more honest. The career of tenor saxophonist Billy Harper bloomed in the mid-'60s. Like Parker and Coltrane before him, Harper is devoted to a revolution in consciousness through music. Relatively unknown in America, Billy Harper is recognized as a great artist in Europe and Japan. A Texan by birth, this 38-year-old musician received his musical education at home and at church, in public schools in Tyler and Houston, Texas, in R&B and jazz combos and at North Texas State University. Harper set out to master the saxophone in college, giving up a potential career as an actor and singer. He has conquered the idiom's major challenge—achieving a personal, unique sound and an original jazz style. Harper's tenor sax sound is almost harsh, yet his playing is like water: notes rush forth in rapid torrents during intense improvisational flurries that probe the core of human passion. Performing his composition "Cry of Hunger," for example, Billy sharpens his focus—especially during an unaccompanied tenor saxophone solo—that identifies and decries that bane of humankind.

I interviewed Billy Harper between sets during a recent performance by his quintet in Santa Cruz, California.

In '66 you went to New York.

I just left Dallas one snowy night and went to New York. I didn't work musically in New York for a whole year.

What was your first big break in that city?

The first thing I did was with Gil Evans, and Elvin [Jones] was on drums. [laughter] Shortly after that I worked with Art Blakey for two and a half years, and that's when I went to Japan—in '68. When I first started working with Blakey, McCoy was on piano—McCoy Tynner [laughter] and Slide Hampton, Bill Hardman and Junie Booth.

You recorded the ballad "Angel Eyes" with Blakey.

Yeah, I used to like that tune.

Do you ever do standard tunes anymore? I never do them with my group because there's so much music and there's a particular kind of message that I want to get across. Ballads are nice and I like them too. I used to play them in Texas all the time. They remind people more of the love side of music. I just try to go about explaining it musically in a different way.

Going back to 1970—to the Jazz and People's Movement in New York—you were a spokesperson for that group?

Yeah. The Jazz and People's Movement was organized by Rahsaan Roland Kirk. His idea was to go to the television station and expose the fact that there was not enough black creative music on television. He had people go in with their little whistles and horns, as the audience, and as the show was going on [a live taping of the Merv Griffin show], he gave the cue and everybody started playing. They didn't know what was going on at the station. It was very shocking—and Rahsaan had that kind of way of doing things—very shocking.

I heard they had the pit band play real loud.

Oh yeah, they tried but that didn't stop it, because that tape was ruined. We had posters and we announced the fact that there were not enough black musicians in the television industry, let alone having creative black music being viewed and played on television. We did the same thing on NBC with Johnny Carson, but nothing happened from that, and we did the same thing with the Dick Cavett show. And we later got on the show, at least to talk about it, but not to play. Freddie Hubbard, Cecil Taylor, Andrew Cyrille, and Rahsaan's wife and I were the panelists. We talked about the problems of black art in America. There were some token changes after that. I remember a time on Ed Sullivan that Rahsaan and Charlie Mingus played. But those were token things and nothing continued.

What's your reaction now that it's 10 years later and nothing has changed? I kind of expect that because the indus-

try and a lot of people are not aware of the importance of the music. It's too bad. I live and survive by going to Europe and coming back. I work more in Europe than I do in the States.

The problem is that they will let some white musicians on television when they won't let black musicians on. Stan Getz and Al Hirt get on TV, but it's hard to get the black artist on, and that's what we were trying to do. The best thing that can happen is that the musicians just keep playing and keep doing it until it's in demand. A while back I was in Istanbul and Poland and Romania and Portugal, and we were on television in all those places. In Switzerland and a lot of other countries they play a certain jazz sequence almost every month. We were also on Norwegian television this summer: we played at the Molde Festival in Norway. It's too bad that all this television exposure is happening outside of this country. But that's the way it is.

Do you think that jazz and rock fusion helps the situation?

I suppose. In a way it helps; in a way it doesn't. A lot of people who are not exposed to jazz can at least listen to fusion, and I guess that's good, but if the musicians who are playing fusion don't take them further, then it doesn't help.

It doesn't usually happen, does it?

It hardly ever happens, but perhaps they can listen to the fusion and still decide to go a little further and listen more. My specific purpose in music has nothing to do with making money. If I can survive making money it's o.k., but I just want to do a certain thing in music. That's the way I feel about the compositions that I write. I don't force myself to write. I don't sit down and say, 'o.k., I'm going to write.' I just wait until it comes, and then I write *that*. Whatever I'm playing and how I'm doing it is what I'm supposed to do.

Is this your mission in life?

The way that I live is very close to the way I play, the way I write, the way I express the music. Music is very much like life. It's so hard to explain that, but just as tuning a piano is important, it's important to tune yourself, and that's what makes you in touch with the music of life. Sometimes some of it might sound a little chaotic; it might not cause harmony for someone, but it's what I have to do. Somebody will understand why it's said—because it has to be said.

Do you think all good music is spiritual?

No, I don't think that all good music is spiritual. [laughter] There can be some very good music and it doesn't have to be spiritual at all. No, all good music is not spiritual. [laughter] But all spiritual music is good. [laughter]

When you're creating music it feels sort of like painting. It's all based on perception, very fine perception.

Sometimes I've had that great experience of playing, and I'm the instrument and something else is playing me. I had an awakening in 1972 when that experience happened to me the first time.

Do you sing when you compose?

I hear it as singing. When I compose a tune I hear words that don't necessarily make sense. I get all the parts together before I ever touch the horn. A lot of times I don't even play the horn until the whole band plays.

Of your contemporaries, who do you respect?

One who pops right into my head is Gil Evans. Even if he played something that someone else might call "fusion," he's being very truthful about it. I have a lot of respect for all those musicians who are trying to keep their direction and grow further, like Max Roach and Blakey. It's a very difficult thing to do, but they are surviving and doing it. I'm involved in playing the truth; I understand my music as truth. Whenever I play to an audience in public the truth gets through, it *always* gets through. Somebody gets the message: that's part of fulfilling the purpose. It would help if there were records out in the states, but as long as I continue to play, I think somebody's going to get the message. ■

Rich Wills works with KUSP-FM, a non-commercial radio station in Santa Cruz, Calif., where this interview took place.

AN INTERVIEW WITH SAX PLAYER BILLY HARPER BY RICH WILLS

